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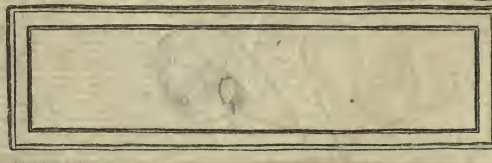
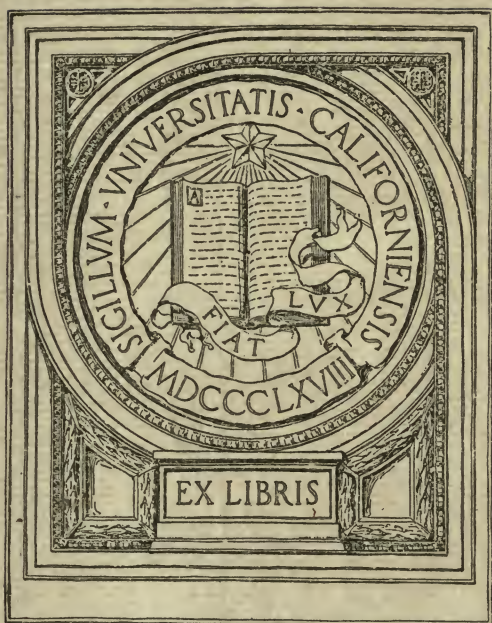
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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND



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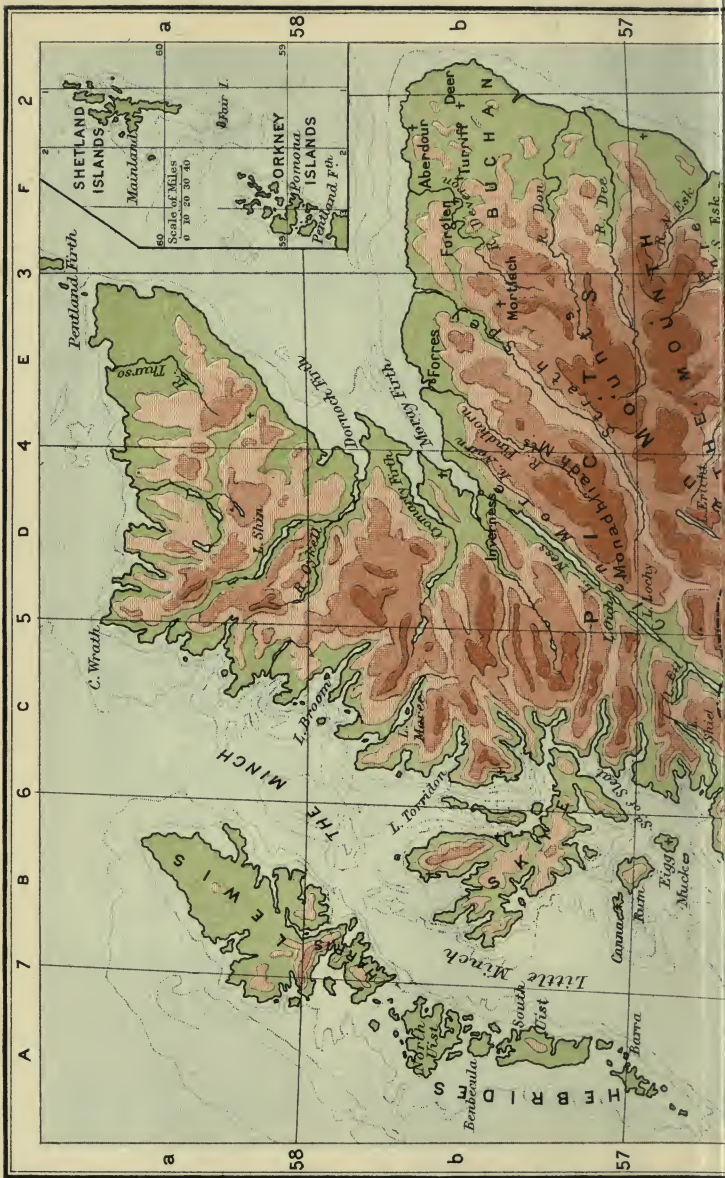
W.R. Kermacl







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EARLY SCOTLAND

Natural Scale 1:2,500,000
English Miles

10 5 0 10 20 30 40

NOTE
Religious foundations of
the Celtic Church

A 7 B 6 C 5 Long. W. of Greenwich 4 E 3 F 2

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND

BY

W. R. KERMAK, B.A. (OXON.)

"History never repeats, without explaining, itself."
—*George Adam Smith.*



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TO THE
MEMBERS

1

L. C.

TO
MY MOTHER

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FOREWORD.

THE aim of this book is to explain the connection of the geography of Scotland with the history of Scottish nationality. It is believed to be first attempt, however inadequate, to do so, on a scale larger than that of the lecture or magazine article.

Chapter I. and most of Chapter II. have previously been published in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, and to the kindness of the editor of that magazine is due their reappearance here.

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CHAPTER I

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the subject. It begins with a definition of the term "philosophy" and then proceeds to a discussion of the various branches of the subject. The author then discusses the history of philosophy, from the ancient Greeks to the modern era. He then discusses the various methods of philosophy, from the deductive method to the inductive method. Finally, he discusses the various schools of thought in philosophy, from the Stoics to the moderns.

The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed discussion of the various branches of philosophy. It begins with a discussion of metaphysics, which is the study of the nature of reality. It then discusses epistemology, which is the study of knowledge. Next, it discusses ethics, which is the study of morality. Finally, it discusses politics, which is the study of the organization of society.

CHAPTER I.

THE MAKING OF SCOTLAND.

THE British Isles consist of two large and a number of smaller islands which lie off the north-west corner of Europe on the continental shelf, a part of the European plain submerged by the ocean. They partly enclose on the west the shallow basin of the North Sea, and thus their history has always had much connection with that of the other countries on its shores. On the south-east the British plain slopes to meet the north-west portion of the great European plain, from which it is separated only by the narrow Straits of Dover; consequently this south-east corner has always been a gateway for the entrance of continental influences. On the other hand, the separation of the two main islands by the Irish Channel has given the larger island length disproportionate to its breadth, while there is also an essential contrast between the south-east plain and the north-west oceanic border of Britain, which, founded on a fundamental difference in rock structure, has found expression in resultant differences, agricultural, industrial, racial, and historical, drawing north-west and south-east to some extent apart, to participation in different destinies. Scot-

2. HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

land, Wales, the Pennines, the Lake District, Devon and Cornwall, are all composed of older and harder rocks than the south-east of England; they have, as a consequence, resisted denudation, while the more recent and softer deposits have been eroded into the English plain. In this contrast there was inherent from the first a tendency to the establishment of rival states in Britain, representative, as in Attica, of the highlands and the plain. Within the bounds of Scotland itself, however, there are also important, though lesser, structural differences, which have deeply influenced its history. The country falls into three main divisions, the Highlands, formed of hard and ancient rocks, poor in soil, and deluged with the rain brought by south-west winds from the Atlantic; the Southern Uplands, the hills of that Scottish Borderland so rich in history and romance, formed of rocks of Ordovician and Silurian age, and extending south-westward from the North Sea near Dunbar to the Rhinns of Galloway; and between them the Midland Valley of Scotland, where the rock-floor, contemporary with the surface rocks of the Highlands and Southern Uplands, has been let down along two nearly parallel lines of faulting running north-east and south-west across Scotland, from Dumbarton to Stonehaven, and from Girvan to Dunbar, and covered with more recent rocks of Old Red and Carboniferous age. It was in this Midland Valley, richer in soil, and more open to commerce than the mountains which guarded it to north and south, that the distinctive national life of Scotland could find room to develop. From it,

however, the Border Uplands, intersected by the broad valleys of the Nith and Tweed, were comparatively accessible; and it was in fact only the Highlands which remained really out of touch with the progress in civilisation made by the country as a whole. Even the Highlands, however, if closed to the entrance of influences from the south, were open to the western seas; and thus early Scottish history came to be in great part the record of the strife of rival civilisations, entering on the one side from Ireland through the western Highlands, and extending on the other on all the shores of the partially-enclosed German Ocean or North Sea.

“Two things are vital in the history of every people, its ethnic composition and the wars it wages in defence or extension of its boundaries.”¹ In these words may be summed up the early development of any nation, above all, of such a nation as Scotland, whose very name is taken from an immigrant race, and whose destinies are to so great an extent bound up geographically with the richer southern portion of the island. For it is upon the racial qualities already present in a people that there must work all the forces, products to a large extent of climatic conditions, which shape mysteriously a nation's individuality. And these forces can only work effectively, or indeed can only work at all, where such boundaries exist as afford the national individuality protection for its undisturbed development. The sources of Scottish nationality are to be found, first, in a basis of racial elements different in composition from that of

¹ E. C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, 1911, p. 75.

the English people; second, in the prevalence for centuries previous to the Tudor epoch of geographical conditions, which emphasised the peninsular aspect of Scotland in respect to England, rather than the location of the island as a whole in regard to the Continent. The conditions which made generally apparent the geographical unity of Great Britain were not in existence when the first Edward purposed to marry his heir to the Maid of Norway; they were hardly present even at the time of Somerset's "English wooing"; and it was indeed only their common adoption of Protestantism, and their common danger from the power and ambitions of Spain, combined with the historical accident of James's claim to the English throne, that brought to Englishmen and Scotsmen a conviction of their community of interests, and a willingness to attempt to realise, in some degree at any rate, the common nationality made possible for them by the Tudor navy's command of the narrow seas.

Thus, in the first place, connected with the contrast between west and east, must be considered the question, a most difficult and controversial one, of the racial basis of Scottish nationality. Owing perhaps to climatic conditions which rendered life impossible, there is no record that Scotland was inhabited by Palaeolithic man. In Ireland and the west of Great Britain generally, however, extending up the western coasts of Scotland as far north as the Orkneys and Shetlands, are found the long barrows and the finely-polished stone implements of a Neolithic population, long-skulled, brunette in colouring, of medium stature, types of the race now generally known as Medi-

terranean. With these Neolithic settlers, it seems, may be identified the people known to us in history as the Picts, so far as that term has racial significance, and is not used, as apparently it is by Roman and British writers, to denote generally the barbarous tribes beyond the frontier who practised the custom of tattooing. The absence of Neolithic remains from the eastern side of the island suggests that the new-comers found in the moister climate of the west conditions more comparable to the regions from which they came. The long-headed invaders were not left in undisturbed possession of their conquests, for beside their long barrows or cairns there are also found in the Clyde valley and elsewhere in the lowlands of Scotland, and in the English plain, the round barrows of a round-headed race, users of bronze weapons and implements, and obviously on a higher plane of civilisation than the Neolithic population. This people, by the shape of their skulls, is marked as belonging to the second great race found in Europe, called Alpine, or Eurasiatic, more stoutly built, and with hair and eyes considerably lighter in colour than those of Mediterranean man. Historically, however, we have knowledge of only the last two, possibly last three, of the great waves of invasion in which Alpine man reached Britain from the south-east. The Belgae, newly arrived in southern Britain in the time of Caesar, may have been either a third body of Celtic invaders or the last of the Brythonic Wave. Of these waves the first, of Goidelic or Gaelic Celts, arriving about B.C. 600, penetrated to the western shores of Scotland, overcame the resistance of the native population, probably through

their use of better weapons, and imposed upon them their superior civilisation. The Picts to some extent adopted the language of their conquerors; the Goidels, on the other hand, seem to have taken as their own the religion—Druidism—which they found native to the soil.¹ Like the tribes transplanted to Samaria, they worshipped “the God of the land” (2 Kings, xvii. 26). In their turn the Goidels were followed by a second body of Celtic immigrants, known to us as Brythons or Britons, possibly users of iron weapons. Once again the new-comers seized upon the fertile lands of the English plain, but they did not penetrate much further northward than the Firths of Forth and Clyde, where the Romans found them as the great confederacy of the Brigantes between the Humber and Mersey and the Caledonian Forest. Their hold upon southern Scotland, however, cannot have been a very firm one, for at the time of Ninian’s mission at Whithorn, in the closing years of the Roman occupation of Britain, Pictish territory seems to have been continuous from the Solway to the Forth; and it was only under pressure from the English invaders that the Britons finally established their hold upon Strathclyde, transferring the centre of their kingdom from Carlisle to Alclyde (Dumbarton) in 573, and thus driving a wedge between Pictish territory in Galloway and on the shores of the Forth. But the reference of twelfth-century English writers to the Galwegians as “Scots” or “men of Lothian,” and their apparent connection on several occasions with the Earls of Strathearn, all tend to show that no special racial

¹ J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 69, 73.

distinction was recognised even then as marking off the inhabitants of Galloway from their countrymen north of the Forth.¹ And indeed, it is an inevitable conclusion from the general absence in Britain of any considerable broad-skulled portion of the population, and from the presence of many non-Aryan peculiarities of syntax in all the Celtic languages, either that the actual numbers of the Celtic invaders were relatively small,² or that, less suited than the native population to their new environment, they were gradually absorbed by them, until the Mediterranean racial element once again became dominant. The Goidels in Scotland and their Neolithic predecessors may thus most conveniently be comprised in the common designation of Picts; and both Celtic and non-Celtic peoples seem to have been included in the southern Pictish kingdom, south of the Mounth, the apparent mountain range formed by the edge of the Highland plateau. The Caledonians of Tacitus' *Agricola*, more stoutly built and with fairer hair than the other northern tribes with which the Romans had come in contact, were probably a purely Celtic settlement in Athol and Strath Tay, rather than an advance-guard of the Teutonic-speaking raiders of post-Roman date.

If the foregoing be in the main an accurate representation of the facts in a matter most controversial, it follows

¹ A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers*, Preface, pp. 198-9, 202-3, 241.

² Oman (*England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 17) suggests that in their progress across Europe the Celts absorbed some of the conquered tribes of Mediterranean type. It is well known, too, that in such great racial movements peoples of varied race often take part. Semple, *Geographic Environment*, p. 85. Cp. Judges, i. 16.

that, at the close of the fifth century, Scotland was peopled mainly by the descendants of her Neolithic invaders of Mediterranean type, though there were present also elements, uncertain in proportion, of Goidelic, and, in the district south of the Caledonian Forest which stretched between Loch Lomond and Dunkeld, of Brythonic-Celtic stock. These immigrants had probably all reached the country overland from the south, but the seas which, to east, north, and west, form its natural boundaries, and which have in other ways so profoundly influenced the national life, now, in the sixth century, brought in on west and east new influences, destined to be most powerful in shaping Scotland's destinies.

The Scottish Highlands are the remains of a great table-land with a continuation across the Irish Sea in the peninsula of Donegal, whose rocks are of the same character, and whose ridges trend in the same south-westerly direction. The structure and direction of the Mourne mountains in county Down show them to be similarly a continuation of the Scottish Southern Uplands. But the connection is more than geological; there stretch out from Scotland, like a bridge between the two countries, the peninsula of Kintyre and the island chain of Jura and Islay, so nearly reaching across that the Mull of Kintyre is distant only thirteen miles from Fair Head in Antrim. The coastlines both of western Scotland and southern Antrim are fretted into bays and fiords such as formed the nursery of the Vikings; and such coasts are bound together rather than separated by salt water, if either coast is inhabited by a people apt to the sea.

Such a people, it seems, in the early dawn of British history, dwelt in Uladh, eastern Ulster, in the modern counties of Down and Antrim. Who they were, racially, remains uncertain, but Professor Rhys conjectures that both tribes in this district, the Dal Riada and the Dal Araidhe, were of non-Celtic origin, representatives of the early inhabitants of Ireland, of Mediterranean stock, who had been driven (according to the Four Masters, in 327) east of Lough Neagh and the Bann by the encroachment of the Goidelic Celts in Ulster.¹ With these they still remained at war; and it was the pressure of their more powerful alien neighbours, aided perhaps by the results of famine at home, which drove the "Scoti" (a term meaning either the "tattooed," and therefore, in Roman estimation, less civilised, tribes of eastern Ulster, or the "broken men,") to join about 360 with the Picts of Galloway, probably also non-Celtic, and thus, racially, kinsmen of their own, in their attacks on the Roman province of Britain. It was probably not long after, possibly during the rule in Ireland of Niall "of the nine hostages" (379-405), who was constantly engaged in piratical enterprise on the coasts of Britain, that these Scots of Irish Dalriada made their first settlements in modern Scotland in Islay and Kintyre, though the first settlement definitely recorded dates a full century later.²

It is not quite certain what the conditions were which allowed this establishment of the Scots in the new

¹ Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 246, 270; *Hist. Atlas of Modern Europe*, Plate XXIX., Notes by G. H. Orpen.

² It is at least a curious coincidence that this movement of the Scots from Ireland should be generally contemporaneous with the greater movements on the continent of Europe. Fergus Mor, first ruler of Scottish Dalriada, became king in 502.

Dalriada. According to Ptolemy, the sea-board of western Scotland from Dumbarton to Loch Eil was held by a people called the Epidii; their territory apparently included Kintyre, and possibly the islands from Arran to Tiree. If, as is most probable, these were racially non-Celtic like the Scots of Antrim, the Irish colonists in Argyllshire may have come at the invitation of kinsmen and allies.¹ But the nature of the district in which they settled in itself supplies a sufficient reason for their success.

Geographically and historically Argyll stands somewhat apart from the main stream of Scottish life, while its lot has always been closely associated with a power in command of the sea. Its coastline throughout is deeply penetrated by the sea lochs which give to its scenery so much of its characteristic grandeur and charm, and no part of the district, it has been calculated, is distant more than twelve miles from salt water. At the same time, it is defined to landward by natural barriers which serve at once as a protection and as a serious obstacle to eastward expansion. The general line of the water-parting of the Highlands, crossing the Great Glen between Loch Lochy and Loch Oich, sweeps round the head of the Spey valley to the hills above the head of Loch Laggan, and then, turning westward, passes west of Rannoch Moor by Ben Douran and the hills above Glen Lyon to Crianlarich and to Ben Lomond. It was this water-parting—Drum Alban—that formed the landward

¹ Bede (*Hist. Ecclesiastica*) states that the Scots "advanced from Ireland, and claimed for themselves, whether by *friendship* or by the sword, the settlements which they have still."—Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, p. 4.

boundary of Dalriada. Such a country fell, later, an easy prey to the Scandinavian Vikings; there Somerled long maintained a virtual independence of the rulers of Scotland; the galleys of John of Lorn were ranged against the national cause in the days of the Bruce; and the fortunes of Clan Campbell testify in history to its independent position, as their coat of arms bears witness to-day to the maritime connection of Argyll.

The same conditions, it may safely be conjectured, allowed the pirates from across the Irish sea to make good their footing in Dalriada. The result of their settlement seemed at first only the addition of another to the tribal kingdoms that disputed the territory of modern Scotland; but in or about 563 Columba sailed from Ireland and landed with twelve companions at Iona, establishing his mission-station just "where the sea-way from Ireland divides northward into the Minch and north-eastward into Glenmore."¹ Such a map as that by Gregory Smith in Poole's *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe* shows clearly the spread of Celtic Christianity into Pictland along these two natural lines, up the Minch by Tiree, Eigg, and Canna to Skye and Applecross, and by way of Lismore and the Great Glen to Rosemarkie in the Black Isle, and along the coastal plain of Nairn and Elgin to Mortlach in Strath Spey, Forglen on the Deveron, and Aberdour, Deer, and Turriff in Buchan. It suggests, too, how Christianity may also have spread in a direction perhaps yet more important, through the only practicable opening in the hill barrier of Drum Alban at Tyndrum

¹ H. J. Mackinder, *Britain and the British Seas*, p. 216.

and Crianlarich (the route traversed to-day both by the West Highland and by the Callander and Oban Railway), by Glen Dochart to Strath Tay and the lowlands of southern Pictland, to Madderty, Abernethy, Kilrimont (St. Andrews), and Dunblane. This work of Columba and his followers marks one of the turning-points in Scottish history. Its results were to unite at least in a spiritual union all Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde—and in this union Strathclyde, evangelised by the labours of Ninian and Kentigern, might also be included; and, further, to open to all the civilising influences of Irish Christianity a state in possession of part at any rate (Fife and Strathmore) of the Scottish plain, on which, far more than on mountainous Dalriada, the future fortunes of the country were likely to depend. It was the natural sequel to both these facts that in 844 Kenneth MacAlpin united Pictland with Dalriada, and established his palace at Forteviot on the Earn. Further, by bringing part of the relics of St. Columba from Iona, now exposed to the ravages of the Norsemen, to Dunkeld, the old Caledonian fortress at the gateway of the Highlands, he completed the work already begun by Constantin I., and transferred the religious centre of both kingdoms from an island on the Atlantic sea-board to a position in the central lowland plain. Thus from the west, from Ireland, there reached Scotland through the Highlands the first impulse towards unity and the development of a cultured national life.

Across the North Sea, on the other hand, came elements totally different in racial stock and civilisation to any existing in Scotland. Though with an interval in date

of about 350 years between them, the two attacks, English and Scandinavian, may with advantage be looked at together. Both bodies of invaders, in the first place, belonged to the third great racial division of Europe, Teutonic man, long-skulled like Mediterranean man, of which he was possibly a development, but tall in stature, with blue eyes, and fair in hair and complexion. Both attacks, moreover, must be considered as forming part of the same great expansion of the Teutonic race; and both, as Professor Vidal de la Blache has pointed out,¹ were phenomena of maritime colonisation, based, that is, upon the sea. Hence it was their first preoccupation to keep touch with the sea, a tendency shown in the case of the English invaders by their choice of the fortress on the rocky promontory of Dinguardi (Bamburgh) as the centre of their Bernician kingdom. But these English settlements, established by the middle of the fifth century in the valleys of the Newcastle Tyne, the Tweed, the Tyne of Haddington, and the Esk, held the most open and fertile districts of the later Bernicia, and thus controlled the axis of the country. Accordingly the invaders were drawn on to push their conquests up the river-valleys and westward, through the Tyne Gap as far as Whithorn in Galloway, up Tweeddale and Teviotdale to the barrier of Ettrick Forest (c. 603), and along the coastal plain of Lothian to Abercorn. On this side the fortress on the volcanic rock of Edinburgh, built or rebuilt by Edwin of Northumbria (c. 630), warded the narrow passage, some six miles wide, between the Pentlands and the Forth.

¹ P. Vidal de la Blache, *Tableau de la Géographie de la France*, p. 59.

The natural conditions, however, prevalent in the districts affected by Scandinavian settlement, offered no temptations to that second body of Teutonic invaders to abandon that close connection with the sea to which they were naturally inclined. The Norsemen of the fiords, in whose country the mountains forbade communication except by sea, were far more naturally sailors than the inhabitants of the grass-growing alluvial coast regions of Friesland and Holstein, the home of the English invaders, who were primarily stock-raisers, and only in the second place sailors.¹ When, therefore, the Saxon wars of Charlemagne (772-804) first alarmed the Scandinavian populations of the coasts of the Baltic and North Sea, and drew their attention to the fields for plunder and colonisation that lay open to them in Western Europe, it was natural for the Norsemen from the Bergen and Trondhjem fiords and Gudbrandsdal, striking westward two hundred miles by a route that must have been well enough known to their traders and fishermen, to reach and occupy the Shetlands and Orkneys, probably early in the ninth century, and then to push southward by way of the Hebrides, seeking settlement in what, to them, were rich and southern lands. It is noteworthy that, though the first attack in 793 upon Lindisfarne was made early in January, later Vikings almost invariably chose the summer for their expeditions, and the term "*sumarlidi*," summer-sailor, became synonymous with pirate. This choice was, doubtless, due largely to the unsuitability of the earlier Scandinavian boats, long and

¹ P. Vidal de la Blache, *Tableau de la Géographie de la France*, p. 38.

shallow, and carrying a great top-heavy sail, for facing the North Sea in winter; in part, too, to the greater ease in summer of securing supplies in the district attacked. It may also be connected with the fact that, while the prevailing winds of Scotland throughout the greater part of the year blow from the west, there is an exception in the spring and early summer months,¹ when on the east and north coasts of the country a greater proportion than usual blow from the east. But while it was easy for the Norsemen to reach Scotland in their movement of expansion, the regions to which they had natural access in themselves imposed a definite limit to such expansion. As in all such immigrations, the new-comers aimed at securing conditions of existence as good or better than they had enjoyed at home, but at any rate similar in type. Once settled in the Orkneys, the Norsemen easily over-ran the Old Red Sandstone plain of Caithness, with which the islands are geologically one. Their other colonies were planted down the west coast in the Hebrides, in the short glens heading the sea lochs and fiords of Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness, and in the naturally circumscribed area of *Dalir* (Argyll); while on the east in Sutherland—the “Southland” as distinguished from Caithness—the coastline and the straths opening off it were occupied, and the shores of the Moray Firth as far east as Forres and Burghead.

¹ On an average of 100 years, while only 34 per cent. of the prevailing winds in the whole year for the Edinburgh district blow from the east, in the months of April, May, and June these winds form 47 per cent., 52 per cent., and 42 per cent. of the whole.—J. Cossar, *Geography of the Edinburgh District* (*Scot. Geog. Mag.*, XXVII., 644).

This angle, it may be noted, between the shores of Caithness and those of Elgin, is the only portion of the eastern coastline of Scotland where there occur inlets at all comparable to those of the west, or to the native fiords of the Norsemen. Lastly, a strong Norse colony was, early in the tenth century, settled in Cumberland, Dumfriesshire and Galloway. Fugitives from Man had emigrated in mass to the fiords of Solway at the time of Harald Fairhair's expedition about 880, and the connection thus established between the island kingdom and the allied mainland colony seems to have been long kept up. The natural conditions of these districts largely explain both the measure of success which the Viking attack achieved and its ultimate failure. The districts concerned are open to seaward, but in every case walled in to landward by mountain-barriers, which protect them from attack, but render difficult attempts at further expansion. North of the Great Glen the watershed of Scotland keeps close to the western coast, being in some places only $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the shore, from which the high ground mounts steeply to an average height of from 2000 to 3000 feet. Galloway, like Argyll, is a district of marked individuality, a backwater from one of the main routes of communication between Scotland and England, and barred from the Scottish Central Plain by the Southern Uplands. In Norse hands, too, it must be remembered, Dumfries and Galloway looked seaward to Man rather than towards Scotland. Lastly, the natural line of advance inland which the valley of the Spey might have been expected to offer to the Viking colonies on the

shores of the Moray Firth was entirely discounted by the difference in geological age between the upper and lower sections of that river, and its result that in its lower reaches the Spey is exceedingly rapid, the highest spring tide not ascending more than half a mile above Speymouth. The invaders, in fact, were held apart from combined attack by the nature of the districts they occupied, and between them and the centre of the Scottish kingdom were interposed the mountain masses of the Highlands and Southern Uplands. South of Argyllshire, it is true, with way of entrance by the Firth of Clyde, the Scottish plain lay open; and it has commonly been at this point that an invader from the west has aimed his blow, whether Ivar "the Boneless" at Dumbarton in 869, Somerled at Renfrew in 1164, Hakon of Norway at Largs (1263), or the 9th Earl of Argyll in 1685. But it is significant that here the first brunt fell, not on the kingdom of Alban, but on Strathclyde, and that the rock-fortress of Alclyde (Dumbarton) closed fairly effectively the raider's easiest route.

In the end, though Irish Christianity, entering through Dalriada, gave, as has been shown, the first impetus to national unity in Scotland, though Scottish Gaelic is the form of Goidelic speech which was introduced by the Dalriadic Scots, and until the beginning of the eighteenth century the Highlands remained under the literary dominion of Ireland, yet, in the end, it was the Teutonic influences brought across the North Sea that triumphed in Scotland. The monastic organisation of the Celtic Church was displaced by a system modelled upon that

under which Malcolm Canmore's English queen had lived. The sons of Malcolm and St. Margaret established feudalism. The English speech won its way at last even into the Highlands. But there seems no reason to believe that the victory of English speech and civilisation was the result of any considerable admixture of English blood with the pre-existing population. Tweeddale and Lothian were English, though even here the evidence of place-names suggests that some proportion of the earlier inhabitants survived the conquest. But at the beginning of the eighth century the Celtic district of Manau still preserved its identity; in the middle of the twelfth that of Calatria was still known by name¹; while neither references in medieval literature nor the historical action of the Highland clans in regard to Scottish independence show that any distinction of race was recognised to exist between the Scots of the Highlands and the Lowlands. At Northallerton, at Bannockburn, at Flodden, Highland and Lowland fought side by side against a national foe. There was an English migration into Scotland at the time of the Norman Conquest, and subsequently the spread of English commerce brought English blood into the towns. But there is no reason to doubt that, in the main, the independence which Scotland vindicated through centuries of conflict corresponded to an underlying unity of race contrasted with the English, and was upheld by a population in the main of non-English racial origin. In the north and west, however, the admixture of Scan-

¹ Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, pp. 50, 197. Manau was probably bounded to E. at Dalmeny, to SE. by Pentland Hills.

dinavian blood must have been considerable. The place-names of Shetland and Orkney are Norse almost without exception, as are many family names; while Norse was spoken till the close of the eighteenth century. In the Lewis the proportion of Norse place-names to Gaelic has been calculated at about 4 to 1; in Skye at 3 to 2; in Barvas 27 to 1; in Uig 35 to 4; in Islay 1 to 2; in Kintyre 1 to 4; and at 1 to 8 in Arran and Man. Most of the shipping terms in Gaelic are Norse in origin.¹ Such was the racial composition of the Scottish people: it remains to consider how the frontier was established within which could take place their national development.

The kingdom of the Picts and Scots under Kenneth Macalpin, which by 900 had come to be known as the kingdom of Alban, included a part, but only a part, of the central Scottish plain, in which its rivals were English Bernicia and British Strathclyde. The rulers of Alban accordingly directed their main efforts to the advancement of their frontier towards the south, a policy given effect to by constant raids on the Northumbrian province of Lothian. There was, indeed, no limit to such expansion clearly marked by natural conditions. The Humber and Mersey had formed the general southern boundary of the Northumbrian kingdom which for a time seemed likely to unite all northern Britain in an ecclesiastical and political union till the Synod of Whitby (664) put an end to the Celtic Church in England, and the defeat of Nectan's Mere (685) to the northward advance of Northumbria. The Roman frontier in Britain

¹ Collingwood, *Scandinavian Britain*, pp. 238-9.

had alternated between the Wall of Hadrian and Severus, north of the Tyne Gap, between Tyne and Solway, and that of Antonine, which guarded the narrower isthmus between Clyde and Forth. The lowlands of the Firth of Forth are connected with Glasgow and the valley of the Clyde by a well-defined narrow trench, cut, probably, by a former tributary of the Forth from the south-west which is now represented only by the Bonny river. Through this trench are constructed the Forth and Clyde Canal and several lines of railway; and it was along the series of low hills that rise directly from its southern edge that Agricola, when in A.D. 81 he pushed north of the Cheviots, established his "Limes" between Forth and Clyde. The same general line, about thirty-six English miles in length, was re-occupied about 140 by Lollius Urbicus and fortified with forts, turf rampart, ditch, and military way as the famous Antonine Wall. From Castlecary near Cumbernauld, the strategical centre of the Limes, there was perhaps direct communication at a point near Carlisle with a road by Birrens from Carlisle to the west end of the Wall, while from Bridge-ness on the east the military way continued its course to Cramond, there to link up with another road across the Cheviots and the Lammermuirs. The reason for the Roman choice of the line of the isthmus as their frontier was that the Limes was not conceived of as a continuous line of fortifications to be held against attack so much as a linked-up series of observation posts, to give warning in case of a raid; while its presence was further valuable in connection with the control of customs, compelling

wheeled traffic to pass the frontier only by recognised routes.

But on the whole, if two separate nationalities were to exist in Britain, it was most natural that the breach between them should take place on the line where population was, and, by the nature of the surface, was bound to be, least dense; where the sheep pastures of the Cheviots extend across the island, leaving to east and west only a narrow tract of arable land; and where, too, on the east the broad stream of the Tweed affords a natural line of defence. The final adoption of this frontier, however, only took place after centuries of strife, and was largely the result of historical accident. The landmarks in the Scottish advance are the abandonment to the Scots of Dunedin or Edinburgh, some time during the reign of Indulph (954-962), and the consequent opening of Lothian to their attacks; the victory of Malcolm II. in 1018 at Carham on the Tweed, and the cession of Northumbrian territory north of that river to the King of Scots; and, on the western side, the grant of Cumberland by Edmund the Glorious to Malcolm I. in 945;¹ and the union of Strathclyde with Scotland on the accession of Duncan in 1034. This "forward" policy was energetically continued by the house of Malcolm Canmore, in spite of the loss of Cumberland to Rufus (1092), and the organisation of the defence of the English border by Henry I. Taking advantage of the civil troubles in England, David I., in 1136, secured for his

¹ The Eden valley in Cumberland is geographically more closely connected with Annandale and Nithsdale than with the Lune valley and the greater part of the lake district.

son Henry the territory of Carlisle. In 1139 he added to it by the Treaty of Durham all Northumberland, save Bamburgh and Newcastle; while two years later we find him in possession of Westmorland and the whole honour of Lancaster; whether he held these by a grant from Stephen or by forcible occupation is uncertain. At the same time William Cumyn, who had been David's chancellor, held Durham Castle, which he had secured on the death of Bishop Galfrid, and unsuccessfully endeavoured to secure his own election to the see; and all north-eastern England as far south as the Tees seems to have been in the hands of the King of Scots. In 1144, however, Cumyn gave up Durham Castle; five years later David himself renounced his claims on Lancaster, south of the Ribble, in favour of Ranulf of Chester; and his successor, Malcolm IV., was compelled to surrender his rights over the northern shires to the English king, Henry II. (1157). From this time forward there was no real chance that Scottish territory would be advanced beyond the historic frontier, though the possession of the three northern shires—Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland—remained the dream of successive rulers of Scotland, and served as the bait to draw William the Lion and Alexander II. fruitlessly southward in 1173-4 and 1215 to aid Prince Henry against his father and the English barons against John.

CHAPTER II.

THE BORDERS AND SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE.

THE outstanding fact in the history of Anglo-Scottish relations from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, as, in a less degree, in the seventeenth century also,—as late as the '45 the most seductive offer Prince Charles Edward could make to the Scottish people was the restoration of their Parliament—is the failure of the richer and more powerful country in its attempts to absorb its smaller northern neighbour. This failure was probably due most of all to the work of Wallace and Bruce, and the support they had from the Scottish people as a whole; next, to the English wars in France, and the French alliance with Scotland, which prevented the continued use of the whole military resources of England against Scotland. But all strategy, which is the art by which a general so influences the disposition of his own and his enemy's forces as to be able to meet his enemy with success in battle, being an affair of time and place, depends on geography; and geographical factors on the whole favoured the preservation of Scottish nationality. And though in material prosperity something might

perchance have been gained had the union of the two countries taken place in the fourteenth instead of really only in the eighteenth century, yet much must have been lost. These four centuries of independent life saw the development of the Scottish national character; they made possible a national literature; they enabled Scotland to work out her reformation of religion upon her own lines; and thus to them are due all the great results which the Scottish Church has had upon the national well-being. And in the field of continental politics, the existence of an independent Scotland helped to save an independent France to play her part as a nation in the civilisation of Europe.

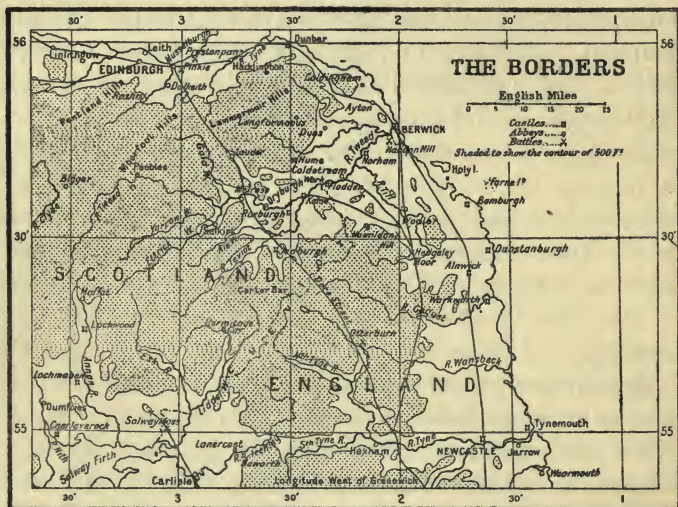
The most striking geographical difference between the campaigns of Edward I. in Wales and in Scotland is the difference in the distance from his base at which he had to operate. The wealth and population of medieval England were concentrated in the south and eastern counties, those nearest to the continent, and Snowdon, the last stronghold of Welsh nationality, lay, even as the crow flies, only about half as far from London as the centre of Scottish resistance, whether Perth, Stirling, or Edinburgh. Even in the sixteenth century despatches still took forty-eight hours to reach Newcastle from London, and, in the fourteenth, Edward found it quite impossible to conduct the campaigns in which, for six years from 1298, he strove to complete the conquest of Scotland, while the administration of his kingdom was centred in the south. The courts of justice and the machinery of government were accordingly transferred to

York, and it is likely, if Scotland had been held, that the old military capital of Roman Britain would have become the permanent centre of the government of these islands.

But the problem of distance was not the only one to be solved by an invader. A remarkable similarity exists between the lines of operation chosen by the English commanders in all the most serious attempts against Scotland. Edward I. in 1296 and 1298, Somerset before Pinkie (1547), Cromwell in 1650, all, passing the Tweed at Berwick or Coldstream, reached the Lothians by way of Dunbar. Edward in 1296 was opposed by the Scots at Dunbar; on the same ground in 1650 Leslie threatened Cromwell's retreat; while Somerset, though his advance was in fact unopposed, expected to meet with resistance south of Dunbar at Cockburnspath. And the adoption of this line of advance may also be paralleled in the campaigns of John of Gaunt or Edward III. In the geographical problem presented by the Scottish frontier lies the explanation of this similarity in choice.

For some five and thirty miles the boundary between England and Scotland is formed by the grassy, glen-scored Cheviots, over which the main pass in the east is that at Carter Bar (1405 ft.) where the road up Redesdale, from Newcastle and Hexham by Otterburn, crosses to Jedburgh. Further to the east the Roman road from the Wall near Corbridge, known in medieval charters as Dere Street, but misnamed Watling Street by modern antiquaries, crosses the Cheviots at Streethouse, rounds the edge of Shibden Hill, and continues in straight course

past the fort at Cappuck and the field of Ancrum Moor to the recently excavated Roman station at Newstead, near Melrose. A third route over the Cheviots is that now taken by the branch of the North British Railway from Hexham into Liddisdale by the valley of the North Tyne. As Tynedale was, until the reign of Balliol, held



by the Kings of Scots, it offered an ever open way of approach to the heart of Northumberland. West of the Cheviots the frontier is continued by the Liddel and, since 1552, the Sark; the lower course of the Esk and Liddel in the Middle Ages traversed the bog of Solway Moss. To the east, from a point just east of Carham, the frontier is formed by the Tweed. The Tweed from a very

early period was bridged at Berwick and at Peebles, but, until times comparatively recent, at no point between. Even at Berwick there was no bridge between 1294 and 1376. The bridge of fifteen arches which is still in existence was built only in 1624. The fords of the river were consequently of much importance, and of these the chief was near Coldstream, at the confluence of the Leet and the Tweed. It was used, among other occasions, in 1296 by Edward I., by the Scots army before and after Flodden, by the Covenanters in 1640, and twenty years later by General Monk. Another ford was at Norham, about ten miles above Berwick; it was crossed in 1296 by the Bishop of Durham's division of the English army, and in 1648 by Cromwell. Above Coldstream, the towns of Birgham, Kelso, and Melrose all sprang up at fords on the Tweed.

This line of frontier was in the main a natural one, and, from the English point of view, secured to them the means of communication between east and west which is afforded by the Tyne Gap, the valley of the South Tyne river, which separates the Cheviots from the Pennine Chain. This same object, on the other hand, had also been secured by the frontier of the Roman province of Britain, the great Wall of Hadrian and Severus, which ran from Tyne to Solway across the moors immediately to the north of the Gap; the building of Newcastle by the Conqueror in 1080 suggested a disposition to retain this line as the military frontier of England; the recovery of Carlisle was left to Rufus; and it was only the foundation of Norham Castle by Henry I.

in 1121, and his fortification of Carlisle the year following, that made clear a determination to hold effectively the geographical frontier of the kingdom. From this time onward it became the general English policy to check Scottish inroads by the defence of the frontier fortresses, Wark and Norham on the east Border, Carlisle on the west, the fortified town of Hexham in the centre, and thus to gain time for the concentration, generally at Newcastle, of the forces of the northern shires. Hexham and Newcastle together held the line of the Tyne. It was Newcastle, too, which commonly served as base for an invasion of Scotland, though naturally any attack across the western Border was made from Carlisle. On the east, besides the road over the Cheviots by Carter Bar already mentioned, the lines of advance for an invading army followed either the Till valley or the coastal belt east of the Till. Just north of Hadrian's Wall a branch road, known as the Devil's Causeway, left the Roman Road from Corbridge to Newstead, and ran north-east by the field of Hedgeley Moor to the mouth of the Tweed. This road was used in 1462 by Warwick for the connection of his outlying forces engaged in the siege of Alnwick, Dunstanburgh, and Bamburgh. From Kelso a second road ran south-east by Mindrummill and the Glen valley to Wooler, where it was joined by a branch from Coldstream by Milfield, a name which perpetually recurs in the history of Border warfare, in connection, for example, with the "Ill Road" before Flodden, in the Flodden campaign itself, and in Leslie's 1640 campaign. Its course southward from Wooler lay somewhat to the

west of the present line of railway, by Ilderton and Brandon to Rowburn, where it joined the Devil's Causeway. Lastly, the main coastal route—the Great North Road—ran from Newcastle by Morpeth, Felton, Alnwick and Belford to Berwick, which last place, it must be remembered, was after 1482 an English bridge-head, strongly garrisoned. After much rain, however, all these roads were liable to become impassable for heavy transport, and almost so for infantry. The probability that the road by Wooler would have been rendered useless for artillery by the recent rains was one reason for Prince Charles's choice of the Carlisle route for his invasion of England in 1745.

Beyond Tweed, on the Scottish side, lay the districts of the Merse and Tweeddale, rich, and almost inviting the invader; and beyond these again what was the real military frontier of Scotland on the east, the Moorfoot and Lammermuir Hills which, broken only by the valley of the Gala, stretch from above the Tweed at Peebles and Innerleithen almost to the North Sea between St. Abbs Head and Dunbar. A Roman road was carried from Newstead up the valley of the Leader, past Soutra Hill, to the Forth at Inveresk and Cramond; and this route by Lauder seems also to have been that chiefly in use in the Middle Ages, in preference to the less open Gala valley now followed by the line of railway between Edinburgh and Melrose. The map of Lothian in Blaeu's Atlas of 1662, however, shows that a third road ran south from Edinburgh, crossing the North Esk by a bridge at Lasswade, and, passing east of Arniston and Temple, traversed the

Moorfoots apparently to the Tweed valley near Innerleithen. Yet another route—Marmion's route, who

“might not choose the lowland road,
For the Merse forayers were abroad”—

by Gifford and Longformacus, over the Lammermuirs, was used in 1715 by the Highlanders under Mackintosh of Borlum. But none of these lines offered in any way an easy advance to an invader, and all were far surpassed in importance by the coast road from Berwick, which traversed the narrow belt of low-lying ground between the Lammermuirs and the sea, thus turning the east flank of the defensive mountain line, and giving access from the Merse to the fertile Lothians. This was the line of advance followed by Edward I., Somerset, and Cromwell, and its importance was greatly increased by the obstacles offered to invasion on the western Scottish frontier. On this flank conditions, within limits, were very similar to those already described on the east. Here, too, the districts nearest England, Annandale, Nithsdale, and Galloway, were on the whole low-lying and open to the invader. Here, too, beyond them a formidable barrier to military operations was opposed by the mountain mass of the Southern Uplands. The route up Annandale, followed to-day by the Caledonian Railway, over a summit 1000 feet above sea-level, was only preferable to the wild passes—Enterkin and Dalveen—which gave access from Nithsdale to the valley of the Clyde; while the route up Nithsdale taken by the modern Glasgow and South-Western Railway, if presenting fewer natural

difficulties, only reached Glasgow by way of Ayrshire. So far, then, the resemblance between west and east held good. But in the west no parallel existed to the coast road of the east, and hence it was that every attempt at conquest or at the infliction of serious damage was directed against the eastern rather than against the western frontier. From the point of view of the defensive, however, it may be noted that the valleys of the Teviot and Rule Water on the east, and on the west of the Liddel, Ewes, and Esk, gave fair lateral communication between the Merse and Annandale behind the screen of the Cheviots. A good example of the use to be made of this means of communication, especially in conjunction with the southward extension of the Cheviots in the Pennine range, may be studied in the movements of Prince Charles's army in the 1745 campaign.

The Scottish frontier was thus on the whole, though weak against raids, strong against an attempted conquest of the country. The protection of the eastern coastal route was to some extent provided for by the creation by Malcolm Canmore of the earldom of Dunbar. On the west David I. established de Brus in the Marcher lordship of Annandale, where Lochmaben castle kept watch on Carlisle. On the outbreak of the Wars of Independence attempts at conquest were met by a vigorous defensive. Balliol fought in 1296 at Dunbar; Wallace fought, though further to the west, at Falkirk. In both cases however the result was a crushing defeat, and though Bruce gave battle successfully at Bannockburn, it was against his consistent policy that he staked his kingdom upon a

single throw. Henceforward, therefore, the Scots adopted the methods of passive defence recommended in "King Robert's Testament."

On fut suld be all Scottis weire,
By hylle and mosse themselff to reare.
Lat woods for wallis be bow and speire
That innymeis do them na deire.
In strait placis gar keip all store,
And byrnen ye planeland thaim before.
Thane sall thai pass away in haist
When that thai find na thing but waist.
With wyles and waykings of the nyght
And mekill noyis maid on hytht,
Thaim sall ye turnen with gret affrai,
As thai ware chassit with swerd away.
This is the consall and intent
Of gud King Robert's testament.

Warned of the coming enemy by the beacons fired by watchers at the fords of the Tweed, which were repeated at Hume Castle, Edgarhope Law, Soutra Hill, North Berwick Law, and Traprain, they made no attempt to meet the invader in the field, but, driving off their cattle and burning their crops, they left the countryside barren and desolate before his advance, while at the same time a raiding force probably burst across the west frontier to destroy, in the words of Froissart, "in the bishoprics of Durham and Carlisle more than the value of all the towns in the kingdom of Scotland." Such a policy at once brought the English invader face to face with serious difficulties in the matter of supplies, and the problem would have been insoluble had not the English naval supremacy, uncontested save for a few years in the reign

of James IV., made it possible for a fleet, carrying provisions, to accompany at sea the advance of the land forces by the coastal route. Upon the successful execution of this policy, which may be paralleled from Edward I.'s Welsh campaigns, depended very largely the prospects of the expedition. In 1298, for example, the non-arrival of the fleet had brought Edward to the decision to fall back on Berwick before he learned that Wallace was awaiting him at Falkirk. Nor did the condition of the harbours on this coast, thus rendered of strategical importance, greatly favour the invader. Cromwell declared in 1650 that all the coasts from Berwick to Leith did not contain one good harbour.¹ Berwick itself appeared in 1636 to Sir William Brereton "a most narrow, shallow, barred haven, the worst that I have seen"; while Dunbar was "so environed with shelves, bars, and sands as there is no manner of haven; only here is a haven made of great stones piled up, whereinto at a spring-tide a ship of one hundred ton may enter, but not without much hazard." Neither at Dunbar nor at Musselburgh could supplies be landed from the fleet save under favourable weather conditions.

However great the difficulties, on the other hand, such Fabian strategy might impose upon the invader, the price paid for success in the abandonment of Scotland's richest town and most fertile provinces to the national foe was a heavy one, and one that the self-respect of a more centralised country could not afford to pay. It was not possible for France in 1870 to adopt the policy of the

¹ Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, iii., p. 385.

Russians in 1812 or the Boers in 1900. With the increase in material prosperity, therefore, that marked the reigns of the later Jameses, and especially with the recognition of Edinburgh as the capital, came a return to a more active defensive policy. The coast road from Berwick, from Ayton nearly to Dunbar, traversed a stretch of desolate moorland, and at Cockburnspath entered a defile so narrow that there, in Cromwell's phrase, "ten men to hinder are better than forty to make their way." Neither at this point nor at Dunbar, however, nor yet where the Edinburgh road crossed the Tyne at Linton Bridge (East Linton), did the Scots choose to make a stand. The defence of any of these positions would have relieved the invader of half his difficulty as to supplies, while all were liable to be turned by an advance by Lauder over the Lammermuirs, or by a movement by sea such as Hertford's raid in 1544. Exceptional conditions in 1639 which gave to Scotland an unwonted military superiority enabled Alexander Leslie to concentrate south of the Lammermuirs at Duns, where, says Baillie, he was so placed that "if the English had moved either towards Haddington or Soutray, he might have been on their backs"; the position was reoccupied the following year; and it was understood that, had time permitted, in 1650 also the same course would have been followed. But normal conditions compelled a less ambitious policy and the occupation of a position near the capital. At Musselburgh the main road from Dunbar by Haddington and Tranent, and the coast road by Preston from North Berwick united to cross the Esk by the ancient bridge, while

through or near Dalkeith the hill roads from Lauder, the Gala valley, and Innerleithen approached Edinburgh. A force holding the west bank of the Esk thus commanded every line of advance, and it was at Musselburgh that the Scots took post before Pinkie, as Prince Charles Edward proposed to do before Prestonpans. David Leslie's position in 1650, "between Edinburgh and Leith, entrenched by a line flanked from Edinburgh and Leith," retained the advantages of the Esk position, save the actual obstacle the river afforded; while under somewhat altered circumstances the defensive occupation of the river line was recommended in 1803 by Dumouriez, as allowing reinforcement by the hill roads from England in case of a French landing and an advance upon Edinburgh from the east.

But the military geography of the Wars of Independence is not complete with the study of the borders. South of and parallel to the edge of the Highlands runs a long belt of hills of hard volcanic rock, known in its different parts as the Sidlaws, the Ochils, and the Campsie Fells, and breached by the Tay at Perth and the Forth at Stirling in their course to the sea. Situated on an isolated rock of intrusive basalt presenting a precipitous front to the north-west, in the gap between the Campsies and Ochils, and at the lowest ford on the Forth, Stirling is the Key, to an English invader, of the North, to a Highland army, of southern Scotland. "Stirling, like a huge brooch, clasps Highlands and Lowlands together." Above Stirling the Forth traces its winding course across the Carse of Stirling, through Flanders and Blairdrummond

Mosses, covered in historical times with deep bog. South of the town, too, the present rich alluvial plain must in the Middle Ages have been mostly bog and sheets of water,¹ practically restricting communication to the higher ground to westward, traversed by the Roman road from the Antonine Wall at Camelon, which linked up the forts at Ardoch and Abernethy along the natural route to the lowlands of the east coast. On this higher ground Bruce gave battle in 1314 at Bannockburn, to cover his siege of Stirling castle. The relieving force advanced by the Roman highway, through the village of St. Ninians. At Sauchieburn, about a mile from Bannockburn, or, as has been suggested, perhaps at Bannockburn itself, is the battlefield where James III., having moved on Stirling from Edinburgh to meet reinforcements expected from the north, was defeated and slain. Further south-east, on the main Edinburgh road, Prince Charles Edward fought in 1746 at Falkirk, again to cover a siege of the castle; and at Falkirk, too, Wallace was defeated in 1298. On the other side of the town, five miles to the north-east, is Sheriffmuir where Argyll checked the southward advance of the Jacobite army in 1715; while a distance of about a mile and a half only divides the castle rock on the south side of the river from the Abbey Craig on the north, where Wallace in 1297 took post with his army to guard the long wooden bridge over the Forth, situated probably either very much where the older of the present stone bridges stands, below the castle, or at a ford yet lower down, where the river comes nearest to the Abbey Craig. From this point, too, he

¹ Sir A. Geikie, *Scenery of Scotland*, pp. 402-3.

could bar the passage of the fords of the river. Hardyng refers to the Ford of Drip ("Forde of Tirps") a mile and a half above the castle as the most convenient place for an army to cross if the Cambuskenneth bridge were broken down, and here the Roman road from Camelon had crossed. About seven miles, as the crow flies, west of the town were the famous Fords of Frew, where Charles Edward's army crossed both on his advance into the Lowlands and after Falkirk, as Montrose had done a hundred years earlier on his march to Kilsyth. Indeed, there was only one limitation on the strategical importance of Stirling, when that position was held by an army able to manœuvre. The Sidlaw-Ochils belt of hills is also breached, as has already been noticed, at Perth, by the Tay flowing from the Highlands across the rich valley of Strathmore. An invader from the south with command of the sea is thus able by landing troops in Fife to turn the Stirling position and threaten the supply-area of the troops that hold it, the manœuvre by which Cromwell in 1651 drove the Scots army from Stirling to the invasion of England and the "crowning mercy" of Worcester.

After the Union of the Crowns a marked change takes place in the general course of Anglo-Scottish campaigns. Previous to that date the overwhelming numerical superiority on the side of the English made it impossible for the Scots to carry invasion any really considerable distance southward. Northallerton and the "Chapter of Myton" (1319), both fought in the gateway of the Vale of York, between the North York Moors and the Pennines, indicate the general high-water mark attained by Scots raids down

the great eastern road to London. And it is noteworthy that both Neville's Cross, where a king of Scots was captured, and Flodden, where one was slain, were fought during the absence of the main army of England in France¹; while at Northallerton David was opposed only by the forces of the northern shires. But after 1603 it is the rule rather than the exception that an army operating from Scotland strikes southward into the heart of England: in 1645 a Scots army under Leven lays siege to Hereford; a hundred years later Prince Charles Edward reaches Derby. The explanation, of course, is simply that the wars of the Stuarts and Hanoverians are no longer purely national. The lines of division are drawn, not between Scots and English, but between Royalist and Parliamentary or Covenanter, between Jacobite and Hanoverian; and the party dominant in Scotland always counts strong allies in England, and endeavours to co-operate with them. Once again, however, it is geographical considerations that largely dictate the methods by which co-operation can be secured.

For some hundred and thirty miles, from Hexham to Derby, the Cheviots are, as it were, continued southward by the Pennine Chain, between which and the Cheviots the ground falls below the level of the 500 feet contour line to form the Tyne Gap already noted, the valley of the South Tyne river. Through the Gap there still ran, in the Middle Ages and in the time of the Stuarts, the system of roads constructed in connection with the Wall of

¹ Both battles were, of course, fought to relieve the pressure of English invasions on France by attacking England at home.



NORTHERN ENGLAND AND THE PENNINES, SHOWING
ROUTE OF JACOBITE ARMY, 1745.

Hadrian and Severus, on the moors to northward, affording communication between Newcastle and Carlisle; and these roads seem to have been made use of in 1306 by Edward I. On the other hand, the absence in 1745 of any road through the Gap suitable for the transit of artillery was among the reasons that prevented Wade operating from Newcastle against the Jacobites at Carlisle.¹ Stretching southward from the Gap, the Pennines are divided into two main portions by the Aire Gap, formed by the valleys of the Aire and Ribble, where once again the ground is lower than 500 feet. Like the Tyne Gap, however, this route also was unsuited for heavy transport. In the Preston campaign of 1648 Cromwell, moving from Yorkshire into Lancashire, sent back his train to Knaresborough "because of the difficulty of marching therewith through Craven";² and in May 1645, the Scots commander, Leven, wrote to Lord Fairfax, "Whereas your Lordship conceived our march would be expedient towards Pontefract by the way neare Skipton, I think that passage altogether impossible for our Ordinance and Carriages,"³ and preferred the high pass (c. 1400 feet) between the heads of the Belah, a tributary of the Eden, and the Greta, a tributary of the Tees. This pass, too, which roughly bisects the northern portion of the Pennines, had been crossed by a Roman road connecting York, the station of the ixth legion, by way of Catterick Bridge with the Wall near Carlisle. Further

¹ J. Collingwood Bruce, *Hand-Book to the Roman Wall*, 6th edition, pp. 56, 168.

² Carlyle, *Cromwell*, p. 217.

³ Terry, *Life of Alexander Leslie*, p. 356.

south Wensleydale, by which Prince Rupert retreated into Lancashire after Marston Moor, also offers communication between east and west. North of the Aire Gap the Pennines are broader and generally higher than to southward, the western slope steep, and presenting a cliff-like escarpment to the Eden valley of Cumberland, the eastern slope long and gradual. Throughout the chain, the summits are rounded or almost flat, covered with heather, moor, or hill pasture.

The importance of the Pennine chain, from a military point of view, is that it more or less effectually cuts off the lowlands of Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland, from Cumberland and Lancashire, and thus offers to an invader two lines of advance on London, while imposing a double task on the defence. Though it may now be considered certain, from the results of recent excavation at Newstead, Cappuck, and elsewhere, that Agricola advanced by Dere Street, on the eastern side of the island, both routes had, during the Roman occupation, been traversed by military roads, on the east running from York by Catterick Bridge, Piers Bridge, Binchester, Lanchester, and Ebchester, on the west from Chester, partly in duplicate, by Manchester, Brougham Castle, and Old Penrith, connecting the legionary stations with the Wall.¹ Natural advantages, however, gave to the eastern route by far the greater importance, an importance still further increased by the general development in the Middle Ages of the eastern side of the island. While the western route, now followed by the L. and

¹ F. J. Haverfield, *Roman Britain* (*Encycl. Brit.*, 11th edition, iv., 586.)

N. W. Railway, crosses from Edendale in Cumberland to the Lune valley over the saddle of Shap Fell, 1000 feet high, which connects the mountains of the Lake District with the Pennine chain, the eastern road has only to rise slightly higher than 500 feet above sea level to traverse the hills south of Durham. The coastal plains of Northumberland and Durham are crossed, it is true, by a series of broad rivers, flowing from the Pennines to the North Sea, but these, as the maps of the northern counties in Blaeu's Atlas show, were in the seventeenth century bridged at numerous points, and the Tyne was in addition fordable at nine places from Hexham to Newburn. Newburn was of some special strategic importance as the lowest ford on the river. It had been used by the Romans, who seem to have laid a stone framework across the bed of the river,¹ and was crossed by David II. in 1346 before his defeat at Neville's Cross. In 1640 the passage was forced by the Scots army under Alexander Leslie. Moreover, on the narrower western route—less than ten miles of plainland between Pennines and sea—there were also, south of Shap Fell, considerable rivers to be crossed, and the bridges over the Lune at Lancaster, Hornby, Kirkby Lonsdale, and over the Ribble at Preston, Clitheroe, Gisburn, gave importance to these towns. Further, and of greater significance, there was the belt of natural marsh along the banks of the Mersey which completely blocked the forty mile interval between the mouth of the river and the Pennines, save only for a gap some three miles wide immediately below the hills,

¹ Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, p. 54.

which was barred by Manchester. In addition, Roman engineers threw a great causeway across the marsh at Warrington, just above the head of the Mersey estuary, making Warrington a point of great importance in the 1648 and 1651 campaigns.

But the eastern road was not only naturally the less difficult. There were no towns in the west in the seventeenth century to compare in commercial importance with York, Hull, and Newcastle. The last named in particular was the source of the London coal supply, the capital being already notorious for the darkening of its atmosphere with Newcastle coal, and any interference with this trade speedily made itself felt. In January 1643, for example, the English Parliament forbade trade with Newcastle while the town remained in royalist hands. The result was a coal famine in London; prices rose to £4 the chaldron; and when in October of the following year the town was finally taken by the Scots, acting in co-operation with the Parliament, Baillie wrote to William Spang, "The news of Newcastle has filled the city with extream joy. . . . The people would have perished of cold without it." Again in 1704, when it seemed likely the break-down of the negotiations for Union could only end in war, the House of Lords petitioned the Queen to take special measures for the fortification of Newcastle and Tynemouth.

In spite, however, of the greater ease and importance of the eastern route, it was taken by two only of the six Scots armies which invaded England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in what may be called

the Stuart Wars. In these two instances—Leslie's expeditions of 1640 and 1644—the invaders were directly or indirectly acting in co-operation with the English Parliamentary party, and their policy was in general to effect the subjection of the various important towns on their route southward. In the case of Hamilton's expedition in 1648, however, as of Charles in the Worcester campaign (1651), of Forster and Mackintosh in 1715, and of Charles Edward in 1745, the last thing desired was to undertake a series of sieges; the aim of the invader was either, as in 1745 and apparently in Hamilton's expedition, to strike direct at the capital, or, as in the Worcester campaign, to reach the Severn valley, where Charles I. had found his most loyal and numerous adherents. In no instance was it a primary aim to fight a battle, at least before the reinforcement had been received which was expected from the Cumberland and Westmorland Jacobites and in the Preston and Manchester districts. The support of, or at least the unlikelihood of opposition from Manchester, it may be noted, rendered easier the passage of the gap between the marshes of the Mersey and the hills. Under these circumstances, as both in 1648 and 1745 the main forces of the defender were on the eastern side of the Pennines, it was clearly the best course for the invader to march round their flank under the screen of the hills and strike for the Severn valley or for London. On the whole western route, however, the place of greatest strategical importance, after Carlisle and possibly Manchester, was Preston, where the Ribble was bridged near its mouth,

and where the road from Yorkshire through the Aire Gap joins the main north and south road; and at this point Cromwell in 1648, operating through the Gap, struck at the flank of Hamilton's army. There too Forster's expedition ended disastrously in 1715. In spite of this, it is safe to assert that it was only by the western route that either army could have advanced so far, and it must be remembered that it was by marching round the southern end of the Pennines that the Highlanders in 1745 came within 130 miles of London.

CHAPTER III.

THE HIGHLANDS.

A hunter's fare is all I would be craving,
A shepherd's plaiding and a beggar's pay,
If I might earn them where the heather, waving,
Gave fragrance to the day.
The stars might see me, homeless one and weary,
Without a roof to fend me from the dew,
And still, content, I'd find a bedding cheery
Where'er the heather grew.

(Neil Munro)

THREE factors, two geographical, one more strictly economic, kept the Scottish Highlands for centuries apart from participation in the advance in civilisation made by the country as a whole, and made them, like the northern Borders in English history, the never-failing reservoir from which every element of discontent and opposition to the powers that be could draw support. The Highlands are, in the first place, a region geologically formed of hard primary rocks, separated from the central Lowlands by a great "fault" which crosses Scotland south-westward from Stonehaven to Dumbarton, and along the line of which the original rock-floor, contemporary with the rocks of the Highlands, has been let down, and covered with more recent rocks of greater economic value. These hard Highland rocks give only a

thin soil from which the frequent rains brought by the south-west winds from the Atlantic wash all the soluble food constituents; the ground is kept wet; the temperature is lowered by the evaporation of the surface water; while glacial action during the great Ice Age has removed the soil of disintegration previous to that epoch, and deepened the valleys, rendering their slopes steeper and less suitable for agriculture. In a word, the Highlands were a region of natural poverty; their population herdsmen and hunters rather than farmers like the inhabitants of the lowlands, which districts, moreover, they claimed to be the traditional heritage of their forefathers.

Where live the mountain chiefs who hold,
That plundering Lowland field and fold
Is aught but retribution true?

Historically, however, the Highlands had not always been the reactionary element in Scottish politics. It was through the western Highlands that Celtic Christianity reached Scotland from Ireland, and from Scotland in turn reached north and central England. But when in the reign of Malcolm Canmore the final breach was made with the Celtic Church through the influence of St. Margaret, Scotland turned in matters religious from the Irish connection towards Rome, while at the same time she drew her inspiration in material civilisation from France and England. The Highlands thus stood intellectually on the edge of the medieval world, apart altogether from the spread of new ideas. And they were still further isolated by natural difficulties in the way of

communication with the lowlands. They are, structurally, the remains of an ancient tableland, originally upraised above the sea as a series of more or less parallel ridges with a general north-easterly direction, but subsequently, probably more than once, worn down by air and water erosion to a base-level beneath the sea, only to be again upheaved and attacked anew by the denuding agencies. All this time, however, the original north-east and south-west graining of the rocks remained; and all Highland rivers, therefore, which reach the central lowland plain, flow transverse to this rock-graining through narrow valleys, as does the Forth at Aberfoyle, the Earn at St. Fillans, the Leny through Strathyre and the Pass of Leny, and, most important of all, the Tay through the defile of Birnam. The Dee, also, though not a transverse river, gains the eastern lowlands through the Pass of Ballater. Thus geographical conditions rendered the Highlands relatively difficult of access from the Lowlands, while their valleys and sea-lochs, which, owing to the rock-graining, were open to the westward, no longer, after the early Middle Ages, looked towards a centre of European civilisation, though they continued to have significance as allowing expeditions from over seas to establish themselves in a part of Scotland distant from the centre of her power.

The original surface of the Highland tableland is approximately shown by the summits of the existing mountain masses of Ben Nevis and Ben Macdhuì. Here rise some of the longest rivers of Scotland, Spey, Tay, and Dee, whose valleys give the only line of communica-



tion across the Highlands for road or railway—the only lines, that is, save the valley of Glenmore (the Great Glen) from Inverness to Fort William, depending in the first instance upon a line of “faulting” which severed the ancient plateau, but enlarged and deepened, first by stream, later by glacial erosion, which separates the whole Highlands into two portions. Upon these route-valleys were dependent the location of the clans and much of the course of Highland policy and warfare.

In the first place of importance comes the division into western and central Highlands by the water-parting of Scotland, which south of Glenmore sweeps round the head of the valley of the Spey to the hills above Loch Laggan, and then turns westward beyond Rannoch Moor by Ben Douran and the Glen Lyon hills to Crianlarich and Ben Lomond. West of this boundary is the natural division of Argyll, the Dalriada where the Scottish settlers from Ireland established themselves, the Dalir of the Norse pirates, the richest of the Highland shires,¹ just as Lochow, the original territory of Clan Campbell between Loch Fyne and Loch Awe, was noted by Bishop Leslie² as being, with adjacent Knapdale, the most fertile region of Argyll. It was thus with natural advantages that this clan rose on the ruins of the Lordship of the Isles, the former power dominant in the west Highlands, and it was a natural geographical district within which by force and policy they gradually extended their influence. At the same time it was also natural that in

¹ *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750*. (Introduction by Andrew Lang). p. 133.

² P. Hume Brown, *Scotland before 1700*, p. 133.

the north of this district, in Lochaber, distant from Inveraray, the centre of the Campbell power, where there was connection with Glenmore, and by Loch Laggan with Strath Spey, there should be Camerons and Macdonalds, and Stewarts in Appin, to guard jealously their independence of the House of Argyll; and that there should thus be formed in all the Stuart wars a grouping of these western clans round the standard that was opposed by Argyll. To Argyllshire proper there are two lines of approach from seaward by Loch Etive and Loch Fyne, the former warded at its entrance by the fortress of Dunstaffnage. Similarly Dunadd, a centre of the Scottish kingdom of Dalriada, was situated near the seaward end of Loch Fyne on the neck of land between the heads of Loch Gilp and Loch Crinan. From Loch Etive there is communication with Loch Awe through the dark and narrow Pass of Brander, the scene of Bruce's victory in 1308 over the Macdougalls of Lorne.

The western Highlands were counterbalanced by the central Highlands; the House of Argyll by Athole, their hereditary foes. The Athole district is, generally speaking, the continuous valley of the Garry, Tummel, and Tay which forms part of the main route through the Highlands, between Inverness and Perth, and in addition Strath Tummel and Strath Tay in the upper courses of these rivers before they turn south-eastward transversely to the graining of the rocks to form this main through route. For seventeen miles north of the defile of Birnam where the Tay issues from the Highlands the Tay and Tummel wind their course over an alluvial strath rel-

atively broad, and agriculturally one of the richer districts of the Highlands. Just north, however, of its junction with the Tummel the Garry has been compelled for a mile of its course to cut its way through the harder rocks of the narrow Killiecrankie defile. Above this again the river has attacked and widened the sides of its valley; and here, three miles above the head of the Pass, is Blair Castle, the key of the central Highlands, barring the route northward, and itself protected by the Killiecrankie gorge. It was this strategic position, coupled with the fact that the Marquis of Athole could put into the field some 3000 Highlanders, a force to be equalled only by the rival House of Argyll,¹ that made Highland campaigns so largely turn upon the possession of Blair. Thus it was at Blair that Montrose in 1644 concentrated the royalist forces for his advance on Perth; and in endeavour to seize it that Mackay in 1689 pushed through Killiecrankie only to be attacked by Dundee, who held the castle, on the level ground immediately above the Pass. It is worth note, however, that though Mackay failed to establish himself in that part of Athole which lies above Killiecrankie, his army being driven down the Garry in utter rout, yet the defence by Cleland's Cameronians of Dunkeld, at the defile leading from Athole into the Lowlands, proved sufficient, after the death of their great commander, to check the further advance of the victorious Highlanders. But it is perhaps the best testimony of all to the dominant strategic position that Blair

¹ *Historical Geography of the Clans of Scotland*. 3rd edition (W. & A. K. Johnston, 1899). p. 35.

held, that when between 1726 and 1737 General Wade undertook the construction of a series of military roads throughout the Highlands, the main north route from Perth by the Tay—Garry valley was duplicated by another road from Crieff through Glen Almond, which crossed the Tay at Aberfeldy above its junction with the Tummel, and joining the first road at Dalnacardoch, turned the flank of the Blair Athole position; and that it was by this second road that Cope in the '45 campaign chose to advance.

Athole has thus its great importance from its position on the main route from Perth to Inverness, and it necessarily implies the existence of Strath Spey. For nearly fifty miles from the defile at Stonehaven between the mountains and the sea, the mountain barrier which medieval Scotland knew as "the Mounth" runs westward, obliquely to the north-east graining of the Highlands. The principal pass across it has a height of 1460 feet. East of this pass—the Pass of Drumochter, between the heads of Glen Garry and Glen Truim, a tributary of the Spey—the only two routes of much value for present day communication cross from Braemar in the Dee valley to Blairgowrie by the Spittal of Glenshee—Mar's route to Strath Tay in 1715—and from Banchory to Fettercairn by the Cairn o' Mount, though there are other routes, such as Glen Clova, the valley of the South Esk, which would present no very serious obstacle to a Highland army. Between this mountain barrier and the Cairngorms to northward the Dee has cut its valley, the district of Mar, which, with its access to the eastern lowlands through

the Pass of Ballater, formed the territory of clan Farquharson. But the district, secluded as it was, was not one which played a great part in Highland history. The main route northward from Perth did not traverse it at all, but crossing Drumochter entered Strath Spey. Here, northward from Drumochter to Inverness, was the territory of the Clan Chattan confederacy, Macphersons in Badenoch, the upper valley of the Spey, Macintoshes in the upper valleys of the Findhorn and Nairn rivers. At one period, too, the confederacy included clans in Lochaber, with which there is communication from Badenoch by way of Loch Laggan. Lower down the valley of the Spey was the territory of clan Grant.

Two connecting districts linked up the western Highlands with the valleys of the Tay and Spey—Breadalbane and Glenmore. From Argyllshire proper there is really only one eastward route, through the pass of Strath Fillan (from Tyndrum to Crianlarich) to the deep valley of Glen Dochart and Loch Tay. Through Strath Fillan only could enemies strike from the eastward at Argyll, and it was by this route that the great Marquis of Montrose struck at Inveraray, as did also a detachment of Mar's army in the '15. On the other hand it was also through Strath Fillan that Campbell territory was extended into Breadalbane, the valley of Glen Dochart and Loch Tay; and this district in general followed the fortunes of the Argyllshire branch of the clan, though its transitional position between west and centre sometimes asserted an influence, as in 1715, when most of the Breadalbane men joined the Chevalier.

But far more important than Breadalbane, from a military point of view, was the valley of Glenmore. This was, indeed, the key to the control of the Highlands; and it was no accident that Culloden, which finally decided the fate of the clans, was fought only a few miles from Inverness at the eastern end of Glenmore, just as Montrose's great victory of Inverlochy was fought at the western end. The true importance of this great natural highway seems to have been first recognised by the professional soldiers of the Commonwealth. Cromwell's government in Scotland built a Citadel at Inverness to tame the Highlands, while at the western end of the glen was a fort, constructed mainly of earth, near Inverlochy. In 1690 Mackay, Dundee's opponent at Killiecrankie, a soldier of more than ordinary ability, who held strongly that the Highlands could only be kept down by the establishment of permanent garrisons, reconstructed in stone the Inverlochy fort, naming it Fort William after William III.; and in 1716 after Mar's rebellion a barrack was built at Kilcumin, on the shore of Loch Ness, midway down Glenmore, which was later enlarged as Fort Augustus. To control the Great Glen, however, it was necessary to secure communication with the south. By themselves the forts occupied a position as precarious and isolated as Chitral on the Indian frontier; and they were really of value only in connection with the main regular forces in the Lowlands. In 1718, accordingly, barracks were built on the main south route in upper Strath Spey on the site of Ruthven Castle, an old stronghold of the Comyns and of the Wolf of Badenoch; and between 1726

and 1737 the most important step yet made towards the control of the Highlands was taken as the result of two reports sent in to Government by General Wade, when military detachments were set to work under Wade's direction upon the construction of a system of roads which should give effective communication between the garrisons and the south. The course of the two roads from Perth and Crieff which joined south of the Drumochter Pass at Dalnacardoch has already been described; from that point the main road traversed the Pass northward into Strath Spey, and then turned out of the Spey valley across the Monadhliaths (the Grey Mts.) to Inverness. A road down Glenmore linked up Inverness with Fort Augustus and Fort William; while from Fort Augustus a branch road was carried over the Monadhliaths by the formidable pass of Corriyarrick (2500 ft.) to the main Highland road in upper Strath Spey. Corriyarrick, however, which had already been used by Montrose in the wonderful march which surprised Argyll at Inverlochy, proved on the whole of more value to the clans than to the regulars, for in 1745 Cope, fearing to attempt its passage in the face of Prince Charles's army, moved north-eastward to secure Inverness at the cost of uncovering the Lowlands. It was an additional factor in the strategical situation that from the west coast several approaches gave an invader access to Glenmore. Of these historically the most important are (1) Loch Linnhe, by which Columba must have travelled from Iona to convert the Pictish king Brude at his fort on the shore of Loch Ness; (2) Loch Alsh and Loch Duich, where the

Jacobite expedition of 1719 landed in the hope of reaching Inverness by Glen Shiel; and (3) Loch Moidart and the Sound of Arisaig where Charles Edward landed in 1745.

Another communication route was from the Dee valley to Strath Spey and the shores of the Moray Firth through Strath Bogie; and indeed by this route there was easier though less direct intercourse between the central lowlands and Inverness than by Athole and Strath Spey. Through their control of it the Gordons of Huntly, in reality not a Highland family, rose to great power in the eastern Highlands. In connection with Strath Bogie points of importance are Corrichie, about twelve miles from Aberdeen, where in 1562 Huntly, advancing on the city, was defeated and slain; Alford in Strath Don, where in 1645 Montrose, having retreated up Strath Bogie, stood to face Baillie; Kildrummy Castle higher up the Don valley, where the road turns northward to Strath Bogie; and, on the alternative way from the Don to the Bogie by the Ury valley, the field of Harlaw. Beyond Glenmore, the chief clans were the Macdonalds and Macleods in the Isles, and the Mackenzies, who held in Ross-shire a position hardly inferior to that of the Campbells in Argyll.

The Highlands, in a word, were occupied by a population which was considerable in proportion to their natural resources, accustomed to the use of arms, poor, and thus easily attracted by the prospects of booty, and without the inducements to home life which the practice of agriculture brings. The natural geographical division

of the country preserved and intensified the clan spirit. It was thus that they were able so late in history to menace the peace of the Lowlands; thus, too, that the Highland claymore was drawn on either side in every war in Europe from the days of Gustavus to Frederick the Great.

“And still, O strange Providence! mirk is your mystery,
Whatever the country that chartered our steel
Because o’ the valiant repute o’ our history,
The love o’ our ain land we maistly did feel;
Many a misty glen, many a sheiling pen,
Rose to our vision when slogans rang high;
And this was the solace bright came to our starkest fight,
A’ for the Hielan’s, the Hielan’s we die!”

All intercourse between Highlands and Lowlands, however, was not exclusively military. The Highlands had their part in the economic life of Scotland as a whole. The Lowlands, in the first place, by universal testimony of every visitor to the country from the time of Aeneas Sylvius were extraordinarily destitute of timber. “Had Christ been betrayed in this country,” one writer unkindly observed, “Judas had sooner found the grace of repentance, than a tree to hang himself on.” This was, of course, senseless exaggeration, but there undoubtedly was a deficiency of timber, and in the Highlands the deficiency could be fully supplied. “On the west side of *Scotland*,” reports Fynes Moryson, “are many Woodes, Mountaines, and Lakes.” John of Fordun speaks of the vast mountains stretching across the country: “along the foot of these mountains are vast woods, full of stags,

roe-deer, and other wild animals and beasts of various kinds." To come to details, early in the seventeenth century (1618) Taylor, the Water-Poet, visited the district of Braemar and noted, he tells us, "as many [fir-trees] growing there, as would serve for masts (from this time to the end of the worlde) for all the shippes, carackes, hoyes galleyes, boates, drumiers, barkes, and water-crafts, that are now, or can be in the worlde these fourty yeeres." Only, he adds, "they doe grow so farre from any passage of water, and withall in such rockie mountaines, that no way to convey them is possible to be passable, either with boate, horse, or cart."¹ This difficulty, however, was not everywhere found. An entry in the Privy Council Register points out that "in all times bygone the use and consuetude has been that indwellers of the Highlands have brought and conveyed timber to the burghs next adjacent, by the rivers, waters, and lochs, having their course to the same, as may be seen by St. Johnston (Perth), Inverness, and divers other burghs"; though it is true that the floats conveying the timber were in danger of interruption if they had to pass through the territories of unfriendly clans. Fraser of Lovat, for example, is instanced by Professor Hume Brown as having refused Glengarry's men permission to convey timber to Inverness.² The ancient Tor Wood is stated by Bishop Leslie to have stretched from Callander to Lochaber. By the end of the Middle Ages a scanty remnant only was left of it. But the shores of Loch

¹ P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 123.

² P. Hume Brown, *Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary*, p. 28.

Ness, Loch Arkaig, and Loch Maree, the mountains of Kintail and Glenmoriston, and many of the western islands, were extensively wooded. The firwoods at Achichall were sold to a timber merchant by the Earl of Cromarty early in the eighteenth century for £1600.

But it was not timber only that the Highlands supplied for the wants of the wealthier Lowlands. "As for cattel," wrote Thomas Morer (1689) in his description of the Lowlands, "though they have large herds of their own, yet their plenty of this kind depends much on the yearly descents of the High-landers"; while in compensation "the High-landers are not without considerable quantities of corn, yet have not enough to satisfie their numbers, and therefore yearly come down with their cattle, of which they have greater plenty, and so traffick with the Low-landers."¹ Cattle districts were Argyll, Lochaber, Ross, and the West Highlands and islands generally, with east Ross and Mar. At the famous Michaelmas Tryst of Crieff, before it was transferred to Falkirk about 1770, 30,000 black cattle would be sold by the Highlanders to English drovers for 30,000 guineas and upwards. Another pastoral product must be added to the list of Highland trade commodities. Knoidart, the two Morars, and Moidart, states the author of *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750*, bred "prodigious numbers of cattle of all kind especially a Sort of Wild Horses which sell very well at the Markets in the Low Country." "At St. Johnston and Dundee," John Major had written two hundred years earlier, "a Highland

¹ *Early Travellers*, pp. 272, 268.

Scot will bring down two hundred or three hundred horses, unbroken, that have never been mounted. . . . More handy horses of so small a size you shall nowhere find."

Perth, in fact, was the great centre of all Highland trade. It was there that Lowland merchants bought up Highland wool, skins, and hides; while we have it on Morer's authority that the trade of the town depended chiefly on the linen brought in by the Highlanders, which was exported to the value of £40,000 sterling per annum.¹ Other natural centres for Highland trade were Aberdeen, through which there was an import trade into the Highlands, and Inverness. The produce of Skye and the western isles was carried to Inverness on horse-back by way of Glenelg and western Ross-shire before, early in the eighteenth century, this traffic was diverted by sea to Glasgow. "Besides Black Cattle which they send off in Drovers in the Summer Time, they export Great Quantities of Hides and Skins of all Sorts, Woollen Yarn, Tallow, Butter, Cheese, and Feathers for Beds."² For in time Glasgow came to hold much the same position in regard to the West Highlands and the Isles as Perth held to the Central Highlands, the plaiding, skins, and hides of these districts being brought in by the natives, in summer round the Mull of Kintyre, in winter by portage of their small boats overland by Tarbert to the head of Loch Fyne, and thence to the Firth of Dumbarton and the Clyde.

¹ *Early Travellers*, p. 286.

² *Highlands in 1750*, p. 46.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LOWLANDS BEFORE THE UNION OF 1707.

So far we have traced the distribution of the races in early Scotland from which a Scottish nation was to be built up; we have seen the establishment of the historical frontier of the kingdom, and analysed its influence on the preservation of the national independence; and, lastly, we have noted the part played by the Highlands in the national life, and the causes which withheld them from sharing in the national development. But the real life of Scotland, the Scotland that counted for anything in Europe, and was to make any contribution to the sum of European civilisation, was in the Lowlands. "It is the lowlands," writes Sir Archibald Geikie, "that have mainly contributed to the material prosperity of the country. In these more fertile regions have lain the chief elements of progress. The broad valleys and plains, eroded by the rivers and strewn with the soil carried down from higher grounds, have determined the sites of our principal towns, and the distribution of the great centres and belts of population. Our industrial progress is the story of the exploration of lowland coal-fields and iron-mines. Our commercial progress is the story of the

deepening of lowland rivers, the construction of lowland harbours, and the building of the network of lowland railways." All this development was, in the Middle Ages, still far enough away; but it was not the less true even then that the Lowlands were the real Scotland, and it becomes necessary to give a more detailed consideration to their population and geography.

The Scottish peasant was true son of the land that gave him birth. A country which until the Industrial Revolution was poor in natural resources, and whose very independence, either in matters political or religious, was constantly threatened by the presence on her borders of a powerful and ambitious neighbour, had little of the softer graces of life to bestow upon her children. "The common people are poor, and destitute of all refinement," judged the Italian Aeneas Sylvius in the time of James I. "The vulgar houses, and what are seen in the villages," wrote Thomas Morer two hundred and fifty years later, "are low and feeble. Their walls are made of a few stones jumbled together without mortar to cement 'em: on which they set up pieces of wood meeting at the top, ridge-fashion, but so order'd that there is neither sightliness nor strength. They cover their houses with turff of an inch thick, and in the shape of larger tiles, which they fasten with wooden pins, and renew as often as there is occasion. 'Tis rare to find chimneys in these places, a small vent in the roof sufficing to convey the smoak away."¹ Agriculture showed much the same stage of progress. "The word hay is Heathen-Greek

¹ *Early Travellers*, p. 275.

unto them," declared Weldon (1617), and what this meant is more fully explained by Morer. "The soil of the country seems to the eye very indifferent, and tho' they have many fine valleys, which might be improved into a competitorship with our English meadows, yet for want of sufficient industry and care they become almost useless, on the account of frequent bogs and waters in such places. Whence it is, that they have little hay in that kingdom." "'Tis almost incredible," he goes on, "how much of the mountains they plough, where the declensions are such, that to our thinking, it puts 'em to greater difficulty and charge to carry on their work, than they need be at in draining the valleys."¹ "The corn is very good," reported Ayala, Spanish ambassador to the court of James IV., "but they do not produce as much as they might, because they do not cultivate the land. Their method is the following; they plough the land only once when it has grass on it, which is as high as a man; then they sow the corn, and cover it by means of a harrow, which makes the land even again. Nothing more is done until they cut the corn. I have seen the straw stand so high after harvest that it reached to my girdle."² The principal crops were oats and barley, the straw being used instead of hay as winter feeding for cattle, and hemp, the raw material of a flourishing linen industry. Inclosures were almost unknown; "and the cause is, that they do not hold their land in perpetuity, but only by rent on a lease of four

¹ *Early Travellers*, pp. 226-7.

² *Days of James IV.* (Ed. G. Gregory Smith), p. 62.

or five years at the will of the lord; therefore though there are plenty stones they will not build neat houses, nor will they plant trees, or hedges to the woods, nor will they enrich the soil; and this," concludes John Major, "is to the no small loss and disgrace of the whole realm."¹ Meat, however, was plentiful, though most of it was eaten salted, to a greater extent, even, than was usual in the Middle Ages, when the ignorance of roots such as turnips for the winter feeding of stock meant that at any rate a great proportion of the meat eaten had to be salted. It was, indeed, the need of spices to eat with this salted meat that gave such importance to the Eastern spice trade as to compel the search for new routes to the East across the Atlantic or round Africa, when the old routes were closed or threatened by the westward advance of the Ottoman Turks. Wheaten bread was to be had only in the towns, oat-cakes being universal among the peasantry. Wine was dear, but beer and ale much—apparently too much—drunk.

But the same natural causes which kept Scotland poor and backward in things material gave noble spiritual gifts. "A Scottish child," says Stevenson, "hears much of shipwreck, outlying iron skerries, pitiless breakers, and great sea-lights; much of heathery moors, wild clans, and hunted Covenanters. Breaths come to him in song of the distant Cheviots and the ring of foraying hoofs. He glories in his hard-fisted fore-fathers, of the iron girdle and the handful of oatmeal, who rode so swiftly and lived so sparsely on their raids. Poverty, ill-luck,

¹ *Days of James IV.*, p. 27.

enterprise, and constant resolution are the fibres of the legend of his country's history. The heroes and kings of Scotland have been tragically fated; the most marking incidents in Scottish history—Flodden, Darien, or the Forty-five—were still either failures or defeats; and the fall of Wallace and the repeated reverses of the Bruce combine with the very smallness of the country to teach rather a moral than a material criterion for life." The national customs and characteristics seem to have developed early, and early to have become known abroad. Abbot Samson of Carlyle's *Past and Present*, sent to Rome from England at the time of the schism between Pope Alexander and Octavian in the twelfth century, while in Italy, for safety "pretended to be Scotch, and putting on the garb of a Scotchman, and taking the gesture of one, walked along; and when anybody mocked at me, I would brandish my staff in the manner of that weapon they call *gaveloc* [javelin], uttering comminatory words after the manner of the Scotch." He speaks, too, of "the old shoes that I carried on my shoulder in the way of the Scotch." *Il est fier comme un Ecossais*, said the medieval French proverb; and John of Fordun tells of another based on the common Scots claim to noble birth, "That man's a cousin of the King of Scots." "They lay out most they are worth in cloaths," says a seventeenth century English visitor, "and a fellow that hath scarce ten groats besides to help himself with, you shall see come out of his smoaky cottage clad like a gentleman."¹ But Scottish pride was only the outward

¹ Ray, 1662? *Early Travellers*, p. 232.

expression of a real sturdy self-reliance which was ingrafted on the nation by the conditions under which it had to live; and the condition of the Scottish peasantry was in fact far superior to the grinding slavery of France or Germany. It is significant that Scotland had no Jacquerie or Peasant Revolt. The French knights who came over to Scotland in 1385 found they could no longer live at free quarters at the expense of the commons as on the continent. Their grooms were killed when foraging, and they themselves were refused permission to depart until the damage they had caused had been made good. "Of outward elegance," wrote Major, "I find more in the cities of France and their inhabitants than among the Britons; but in the country and among the peasantry there is more of elegance in Britain. In both of the British kingdoms the warlike strength of the nation resides in its common people and its peasantry." And so the self-reliance and providence which the Scottish people learnt through many centuries of poverty and hardship, the clannish-ness natural to the inhabitants of so small a country, and the democratic sense of the value of education which founded four universities and many local schools, and sent Scottish students thronging to the colleges of Oxford and the continent, prepared the nation to take its part eventually in a fuller commercial and industrial life, and to solve the problems, religious and political, which were to be presented to it, on sound and democratic lines.

Lowland Scotland falls naturally into three geographical divisions, the Lothians, Fife, and Strathmore on the

eastern sea-board, the Marches, and the South-Western Shires. A marked antithesis in Scottish history is that between east and west. Though it is perhaps of less importance than the contrast between Highlands and Lowlands, yet it is to be remembered that in the Highlands themselves, as has been shown, there was also constant marked division, often, as in the case of Athole and Argyll, on eastern and western lines. This antithesis comes out first of all in the early tribal groupings, and in the strife of the rival Irish and English civilisations. It was represented in the medieval Church by the ecclesiastical organisation of Scotland into the two archbishoprics of St. Andrews and Glasgow, based upon communication by water, so that the suffragan sees of Glasgow, at first Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyll, later became Galloway, Argyll, and the Isles. Then with the results of the commercial Union with England and the Industrial Revolution came the replacement of the east by the west as the commercial centre of Scotland. And in the Scottish Lowlands there was always present in the south-western shires a certain difference from the east in attitude and atmosphere which, though it seldom amounted to actual opposition, gave to the part they played in Scottish history characteristics essentially its own.

This group of shires with a certain community of interests and history comprises the six modern counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigtown, which lie south of the Campsie-Ochils line of hills, and whose waters drain southward into the Solway

Firth or westward into the Firth of Clyde. At the time of the first organisation of Scotland in shires, however, towards the end of the thirteenth century, these south-western counties were not six, but four, Kirkeudbright then forming part of Dumfriesshire, as Renfrew did of Lanark. Renfrew, in fact, remained included in Lanarkshire till the beginning of the fifteenth century, when in 1404 this district, which lies just where the Clyde becomes too wide to be conveniently bridged or crossed, was separated from Lanarkshire, which roughly corresponds to the upper and middle basin of the Clyde, created an independent sheriffdom, and granted by Robert III. to his son and heir. Kirkeudbright and Wigtown, with part of Carrick, the most southerly division of Ayrshire, form the ancient district of Galloway, whose princes long remained almost independent of the Kings of Scots. Kirkeudbrightshire (east and middle Galloway) was granted in 1369 to Archibald Douglas, the Grim. He appointed a steward to collect revenues and administer justice; hence arose the designation of the district as "the Stewartry." On the forfeiture of the Douglasses in 1455 the lordship of Galloway reverted to the crown. It is a possible explanation of the great position so long held by this House in the south-west, in Strathaven, Douglasdale, and Galloway, that here as so often elsewhere in Scotland the link which bound vassals to their lords was not only a feudal obligation, but also a tie of kinship, and that the Douglasses stood at the head of what in the old pre-feudal days had been a Celtic clan.

Geographically, Galloway was largely a natural unit. — W 9

The long chain of high ground south of the great "fault" between Girvan and Dunbar which forms the Southern Uplands of Scotland is divided into two more or less equal parts approximately by the valley of the Nith, which, rising to northward of the Uplands, flows completely across this region to the Solway Firth. North-eastward of the Nith are long, connected chains of heights, almost without lakes, but with numerous confluent rivers which unite to enter the sea as the Clyde, Tweed, Annan, and Esk. The surface of these hills is smooth, covered with short heath or coarse grass; their outline broad and sweeping. South-west of the Nith, however, the hills, such as the Kells Range in Kirkcudbrightshire, or Cairnsmore of Fleet, have a wilder and more rugged aspect, due in part to the fact that here the Silurian strata of the Southern Uplands have been invaded by masses of granite or mica-schist, which harder rocks have offered more resistance to denudation, in part to a rainfall heavier than reaches the more easterly hills. In this south-westerly portion the Gaelic names for streams and hills have prevailed—witness for instance, *Glen Afton*, *Glen Trool*—to a greater extent than in the east, with its Teutonic "dales" and "waters," the latter term applying to the valley as well as to the stream itself. This half of the Southern Uplands, then, is Galloway, the counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown, and the Ayrshire district of Carrick, where, as the place-names suggest, the old tribes and customs had so firm a hold. It forms the basins of the Dee, Cree, and Luce rivers, which rise close to the northern edge of the Up-

lands and drain across them to the Solway, separated from each other by rugged and gashed hill country, or by stretches of deserted moorland, growing only heather and moorland grasses, bog-myrtle and bog asphodel. Dumfries, on the other hand, which has always been closely linked to Galloway in its history, takes in the basins of the streams which flow into the Firth of Solway, west of the Nith, with the exception of Liddesdale, which belongs to Roxburghshire, that is, Annandale and Eskdale, and Nithsdale itself.

Ayrshire,¹ like Lanarkshire, lies mainly in the Scottish Central Plain, to the northward of the boundary "fault." The county is formed mainly of a plain of Old Red Sandstone and Carboniferous rocks, surrounded to landward by an almost continuous wall of higher ground. To the south this wall is composed of the Silurian rocks of the Southern Uplands which separate Ayrshire from Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtown; to the north and east by a continuation of the igneous rocks of the Ochils and Campsies, first into the Kilbirnie Hills between Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, and then southward into the high moorland country which separates the river valley and the firth of the Clyde. At six points, however, this enclosing wall is broken by routes which connect Ayrshire with the neighbouring districts: (1) by the broad Beith Gap south of the Kilbirnie Hills; (2) at Loudoun Hill, where a moorland pass connects the Irvine valley with Strathaven in Lanarkshire; (3) at Muirkirk; (4) at

¹ T. M. Steven, *A Geographical Description of the County of Ayr* (*Scot. Geog. Mag.*, XXVIII., p. 392) is the source used for this paragraph.

Cumnock, where the Nith cuts its valley across the Southern Uplands; (5) where the road from Carsphairn in Galloway crosses to Dalmellington; and (6) south of Girvan, where there is railway communication between Ayr and Stranraer. Within this natural boundary of hill country the shire itself falls into three main divisions with fairly marked characteristics, the ancient bailiaries of Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick.

“ Kyle for a man : Carrick for a coo :
Cunningham for butter and cheese ;
And Galloway for 'oo.”

These subdivisions of the county are marked off, not by hills, but by the unnavigable rivers, bridged in early times only at a few points. Thus from the northern watershed to the river Irvine is Cunningham, the home of the Cunningham family, whose head were the Earls of Glencairn, perhaps deriving its name from the Gaelic “*cuinneag*,” a milk pail. Here the limestone rocks of the Carboniferous system, decomposing, made the rich pastures which were, and still are famous for dairy produce. Between the Irvine and the Doon is Kyle, divided by the river Ayr, into King's Kyle on the north and Kyle Stewart to southward. Here the presence of the coal measures gave a soil of only poor quality, and Kyle became known for the troublesome nature of its people — “Kyle for a man.” Lastly, south of the Doon was Carrick, the home country of the Kennedies and earldom of the Bruces. Originally part at any rate of this region, from its generally hilly nature, was connected with

Galloway. On the other hand, the streams of Galloway flow southward, while those of Carrick flow north and west, and in more settled times it was natural that the upper basins of these streams should be under the same administration as the plains to which they flowed. In 1186, accordingly, Carrick was united with Kyle and Cunningham to form the sheriffdom of Ayr. The general height of the district has caused much of it to be left in pasture—"Carrick for a coo."

Whether or not it is to be traced in part to descent from the Welsh of Strathclyde, these south-western shires adopted a type of Presbyterianism which was apt to be narrow, dogmatic, and emotional, somewhat on the characteristic lines of Welsh "revivalism." In 1494 we find the ecclesiastical authorities of the kingdom in collision with the Lollards of Cunningham and Kyle in Ayrshire; and when after the Restoration of 1660 Episcopacy and lay patronage were brought in again, recalcitrant ministers driven from their parishes, and fines levied for absence from service at the parish church, the Western counties, where ejections of ministers had been specially numerous, were the first to take up arms in a cause which, in spite of the extravagant political and religious claims with which it became associated, was at bottom the cause of liberty, and though stained by murder and intolerance, was yet upheld with much heroism and self-sacrifice. The Pentland Rising of 1666 originated at Dalry in Galloway in the rescue of an old man from a party of soldiers. Then, to anticipate retribution, the Whigs entered Dumfries, seized Sir James

Turner, whose energy for the government had driven many to the hills, and marched up Glencairn to Dalry, and thence by Carsphairn and Dalmellington into Ayrshire. Here they received recruits, and, unable to move on Glasgow which was already occupied by Dalziel, the commander of the troops in Scotland, crossed the moors from Ochiltree by Muirkirk to Douglas and Lanark, where they came to their greatest strength of about 1100 men. Dalziel, however, had already marched from Glasgow to Kilmarnock by the Beith Gap, and followed in pursuit up the Irvine valley and down Strathaven. The Covenanters now marched by Bathgate on Edinburgh, in the hope of further reinforcements from the capital, but at Colinton, finding their expectation not realised, turned off round the north-east scarp of the Pentlands, intending to make their way back to the West. Dalziel, however, crossed the Pentlands by the pass from Currie to Rullion Green, near Glencorse, and attacking the Covenanters at Rullion Green, by a complete victory brought the rebellion to a close (Nov. 28th).

The Rising was followed at first by measures of cruel repression, but to these succeeded an indemnity and Indulgences licensing a number of Presbyterian ministers, under restrictions. The chief result of these, however, was to raise bitter differences between those who did and those who refused to conform; and finally in 1678 Lauderdale determined either to achieve final repression or to force on a fresh rebellion by quartering the "Highland Host" for six weeks on the disturbed districts in the West. On May 3rd, 1679, Archbishop Sharp was

murdered at Magus Muir, near St. Andrews; and on the 29th Robert Hamilton and a party of sixty or seventy horsemen extinguished the bonfires in Rutherglen for the King's birthday and the anniversary of his restoration, burned the Acts establishing and supporting episcopacy, and fixed their own Declaration to the market cross. The republican or rather perhaps extreme democratic tendencies of Scottish Presbyterianism and national character had clearly developed under ill-treatment since the Pentland Rising, when its originators drank the King's health at the market cross at Dumfries. On Sunday, June 1st, John Graham of Claverhouse was routed by an armed conventicle at Drumclog, on the moorland pass near Loudoun Hill, where in the War of Independence Bruce had won his first important victory; and the Covenanters followed up their success by occupying Glasgow. They were, however, hopelessly divided into acceptors and rejectors of the Indulgence, and their actions were clogged by "military incompetence sufficient to damn the cause of archangels."¹ Hence when Monmouth with the royal army advanced by the Blackburn-Kirk of Shotts road on Bothwell Bridge, he forced the bridge without much difficulty, and upon this the Whig army broke in panic into flight. A third small rising in the West, led by Richard Cameron, was dispersed at Airds Moss in 1680, and Galloway and Ayrshire were the theatre of an energetically and often cruelly conducted, though only partly successful, attempt to enforce religious and political conformity.

¹ C. S. Terry, *John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee*, p. 65.

East of the dividing line of the Nith valley were the Marches, the north-eastern portion of the Southern Uplands including the alluvial meadow-lands of the streams of the Tweed basin, a district apart in Scottish history, where under the Border Laws men lived a life which was, truly enough, often brutal, oppressive, and un-Christian, but for all that a life of gallant enterprise and of that spirit of romance which is enshrined in the Border ballads for ever and a day. "Certainly," declared Sir Philip Sydney, "I never heard the old story of Percy and Douglas that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet." On either side of the boundary line of the two kingdoms dwelt a population living by the sword, governed by other laws than the rest of their fellow subjects. On both sides there was a division into East, West, and Middle Marches, which corresponded roughly to the east and west coast routes from England into Scotland, and to the hill country between them. On the English side the Eastern March extended from Berwick to the Hanging Stone on Cheviot, and then south-east from the Hanging Stone to the Aln Water and down-stream to Alnmouth. The Middle March was from the Hanging Stone to Cryssop (Kershopefoot), and southward to Poltross burn, a tributary of the Irthing, and the Tyne, taking in Hexhamshire and Allendale, and apparently, indeed, all Northumberland (save Tyne-mouth) that was not included in the East March. It should be noticed, too, that the great ecclesiastical principality of Durham usually supplied 1000 men in case of a Scots inroad on either the East or Middle March,

and 500 men when there was an English invasion of Scotland. The Western March was from Cryssop to Carlisle, that is, all Cumberlandshire and at least half of Westmoreland, as far south as Shap and Crosby Ravensworth.¹ In Scotland the East March was the county of Berwickshire, which was, in fact, known as "the Merse." The Middle March consisted of Selkirkshire, Peebles, and Roxburghshire; the West March of Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopdale, Annandale, and Galloway below and above Cree Water, and also of western Teviotdale. The Scots Warden of the East March was usually a Hume, living at Hume Castle; of the Middle March a Ker of Cessford or of Ferniehurst; of the Western first the Douglas, then after the fall of that House a Johnston, at Lochwood Tower or Lochmaben, or a Maxwell at Caerlaverock. The Warden of the West March was sometimes also Provost of Dumfries, as the Warden of the Middle March was of Jedburgh. Liddesdale as part of Roxburghshire, after being first controlled by the Douglasses as hereditary Wardens of the West March, was later generally included in the Middle March, but for the greater part of the sixteenth century was under a Keeper, appointed directly by the crown. A Deputy of the Keeper, often a Bothwell, was Captain of Hermitage Castle. Lastly, in addition to the Scots and English Marches there was the Debateable Land, a district some ten miles long by five wide lying between the rivers Esk and Sark. On its division in 1552 the western

¹ H. Pease, *The Lord Wardens of the Marches*, pp. 40-44. This account of the Marches is based throughout on Mr Pease's book.

portion (the parish of Kirkandrews) went to England, the eastern (the parish of Canonbie) to Scotland; but previous to this both Scots and English had been accustomed to pasture their cattle there between sunrise and sunset. On the Union of the Crowns the Marches of Scotland together with the English counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, and the shires or parishes of Norham, Holy Isle, and Bedlington, were constituted "the Middle Shires of Great Britain," but the title fell out of use on James VI.'s death.

Along the frontier of the two kingdoms, until the Union, there existed a chronic state of warfare, taking sometimes the form of petty theft, as in the ballad of "Dick o' the Cow," where two Armstrongs carry off three cows from across the Border, sometimes in the full panoply of a "Warden Raid," such as Otterburn. Thomas, Lord Dacre, English Warden of the West March in 1516, boasted that he maintained 400 outlaws "that burneth and destroyeth dayly in Scotlande; all being Scottsmen whiche shuld be undre the obeysaunce of Scotland." It seems to have been true of both countries, as of the Scottish Highlands, that the Marches contained a population larger than the natural resources of those districts could be expected to support. The Scottish Border had apparently the advantage in numbers.¹ The fertile valley of the Tweed, before the great economic development of the north of England after the Industrial Revolution, could feed many more mouths than the valleys of the English north country rivers. Against this superiority

¹ H. Pease, *The Lord Wardens of the Marches*, p. 19.

in numbers had to be set the fact that this very fertility meant more plunder for the successful raider, at least until years of warfare had wasted the Scottish Borderland. Moreover the clan feuds so keen on the Scottish Marches often meant that the English raider met only with divided instead of united resistance. Edward Aglionby wrote to Burghley in 1592 of the Maxwell feud with the Johnstons as "a weakeninge of Scotland and a strength to England;" and when Douglas led the Warden Raid into Northumberland that ended at Otterburn

"The Jardines would not with him ride
And they rue it to this day."

On both sides of the Border full use was made of beacon fires to give warning of a hostile inroad. In Scotland these were lit as far west as Gallow Hill at Moffat in upper Annandale, approximately where the three routes from Annandale across the Southern Uplands diverge up the valleys of the Evan to Beattock Summit, the Annan to the Devil's Beef Tub, and the Moffat Water to St. Mary's Loch. By the English, too, at least by the time of Edward VI., arrangements were made for watching the whole line of the frontier, by day on the hill tops, by night chiefly at the fords, from the beginning of October till the middle of March, when there was most danger of raids. With the gradual growth of security in the north of England during the Middle Ages, Scottish raids seldom reached further into the lowlands of the east coast than a line from Carham on Tweed by Har-

bottle to Chollerford on Tyne, or roughly speaking the 600 foot contour line. The main routes through the coast district became too strongly fortified to be attempted by anything less than an army.¹ But west of this line the whole country lived in constant expectation of attack. A favourite route was by Bewcastle dale, through which the Roman road, the "Maiden's Way," ran northward from Hadrian's Wall. Bewcastle dale was easily accessible from Liddesdale, where the Elliotts from the upper valley, and the Armstrongs from the wide haughs and rolling hills on the lower course of the river, were notable moss-troopers. It is

" Now Liddesdale has ridden a raid,
But I wat they had better hae staid at hame ;"

in the ballad of "Jock o' the Side;" or

" Now Liddesdale has lain lang in,
There is na ryding there at a' ;"

in "Dick o' the Cow." But when the raiders "ran their raid" by the light of the full moon, not using gaps and passes, but riding their active ponies straight across the fells, there could be no lack of routes; and it is said that on the Middle March alone there were forty-four such passages.

" Tho' dark the night as pick and tar,
I'll guide ye owre yon hills sae hie,
And bring ye a' in safety back,
If you will be true and follow me."

¹ *Some Influences of the Geography of Northumberland upon its History* (Historical Association Leaflet 28).



The third main division of the Lowlands, Lothian, Fife, and Strathmore, was grouped about the two great estuaries of the east coast, and formed the pre-Reformation diocese of St. Andrews, which cathedral city, with its small harbour midway on the east coast of Fife, had thus a fairly central position. The northern part of these eastern lowlands is Strathmore, the great strath on an average four to six miles broad which stretches from Methven, north-west of Perth, to where the edge of the Highland tableland reaches the sea at Stonehaven. It thus comprises the lower basin of the Tay after it issues from the Highlands through the Birnam defile, and the basins of the North and South Esk, a district sheltered from the north and east winds, and of good soil, and hence always of agricultural importance. With it must be included the Sidlaw Hills, which are its boundary on the south; and the coast plain beyond the Sidlaws, of which the westernmost part is the rich corn-lands of the Carse of Gowrie—"A plentiful coun-tree, I you warrande," says Hardyng, "of corne and catell, and all commodities."¹ Much of the coastline is broken and rocky, but it has the three important harbours of Dundee, Arbroath, and Montrose. The whole region is included in the shires of Kincardine, Forfar, and Perth, the two former representing the ancient divisions of the Mearns and Angus. Dundee and Montrose were two of the seven burghs represented in Bruce's Parliament at Cambuskenneth (1367), when their customs were worth £800 and £244, as compared with

¹ *Chronicle of John Hardyng* (time of James I.), *Early Travellers*, p. 19.

those of Edinburgh £3849, Linlithgow £1403, Aberdeen £1100, and Haddington £873.¹ Forfar became represented in 1471, Brechin in 1478, Bervie in 1612, and Arbroath in 1639.

Fife² peninsula lies between the two Firths of Forth and Tay, and has a landward boundary in the Ochil Hills, the central portion of that ridge of hard rock which crosses Scotland parallel to the edge of the Highlands. The Ochils are a barrier of real importance in protecting and isolating Fife from the rest of Scotland, for in the twenty miles between the valley of the Allan Water near Stirling on the south-west and the pass of Glenfarg (480 feet), there is only one marked depression (below 900 feet) which occurs about ten miles south-west of Glenfarg between the head of Glen Eagles and Glendevon. This section of the Ochils, moreover, is about ten miles across. East of Glenfarg the hills are lower and less broad, and at about seven miles distance is the Pass of Lindores (below 250 feet), opening north-west into a strip of lowland along the Firth of Tay, and southward on the part of Stratheden known as the Howe of Fife, where the Eden valley spreads out to a four miles breadth. Thus sheltered behind the Ochils, the district has always enjoyed conditions favourable to relatively peaceful, uninterrupted development.

But the peninsula does not form, and probably never has formed one complete administrative unit. There has always been a good deal of local isolation. In the centre

¹ Cosmo Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 238.

² For the historical geography of Fife see article by L. J. Saunders in *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, XXIX.

of the peninsula there is a circular area of lowland round Loch Leven, from which the Eden valley runs north-east to St. Andrews Bay, the Leven valley south-east to Largo Bay, separated from Stratheden by the Lomond Hills and the high ground of the East Neuk of Fife, and the lower Devon valley south-west to the upper Firth of Forth. Between the Leven and the Devon is another upland district, which includes the Cleish and Saline Hills. Further obstacles to communication between the four lowland districts were provided by forest, marsh, and lake. Professor Hume Brown points out¹ that Blaeu's map of Fife in the middle of the seventeenth century shows above twenty lochs, some as large as the present Loch Leven, of which there is almost no trace to-day; and this indeed was true of Scottish landscape generally. As regards forests, there was Falkland forest, the favourite hunting place of the kings of Scots, on the slopes of the Lomonds, and Clackmannan forest, which helped, with the Ochils and the Saline Hills, to isolate the carse lands of the Firth of Forth. This isolated region formed part originally of the district of Manau, a battleground of the Celts with the English settlers in Lothian (*see* p. 19). When Manau broke up with the unification of the country, the part on the south side of the Forth lying on the main north and south route found a natural centre in Stirling. That north of the Forth, separated from Stirling by the Abbey Craig, became the shire of Clackmannan. Then in 1426 was formed the shire of Kinross, consisting of the parishes of Kinross and Orwell. Later were added Portmoak, Cleish, and Tulliebole.

¹ P. Hume Brown, *Scotland in the time of Queen Mary*, p. 13.

The fertile soils and good harbours of the coast of the Firth of Forth led to the religious foundations of Crail, Pittenweem, St. Colm, Dunfermline, Culross, and Cambuskenneth. Similarly the soils of Stratheden and Kinross led to the abbey at Cupar and the Priory of Lochleven, and a good soil and a small harbour to St. Andrews on the east coast. On the narrow strip of cultivation along the Firth of Tay were only two foundations, one—Lindores—at the northern entrance to the pass of the Ochils, between the Tay fisheries and those of Lindores Loch; the other further east—Balmerino—where there was a harbour for the ferry traffic with Angus. The uplands of the Ochils and of the interior of the county made the monks of Fife great sheep-farmers, so that out of a total of eight such religious houses in all Scotland, Dunfermline, Cupar, and Balmerino are mentioned in a Florentine list of the early fourteenth century as supplying wool for export.

150 → Lothian, by which is meant the three modern counties of Haddington, Midlothian, and Linlithgow, not the larger district to which the term is often applied with reference to the early English settlement in Scotland, is part of the main through route by the east coast from England to the north of Scotland. Midlothian, however, includes also the upper valley of the Gala, belonging to the Tweed basin, a fact which suggests the importance of the route up this valley (p. 29) at the time the sheriffdom of Lothian was formed in the twelfth century. The natural eastern limit is where the Southern Uplands come down to the coast near Dunbar, and on the west where Stirling stands in the gap between the Campsies

and the Ochils. Actually, however, the extreme western part of the district so marked off belongs to Stirlingshire. About midway between these two natural boundaries Edinburgh stands in the gap between the Pentlands and the sea. Further east the Roman Camp ridge, rising above and just to the eastward of the valley of the Esk, separates the valley of the Esk from the valley of the Tyne, and makes routes running westward converge to cross the Esk near its mouth by the ancient bridge at Musselburgh. Here on the slopes of Carberry Hill is where Mary, Queen of Scots, surrendered to her subjects, and where, earlier, the English army was posted before the battle of Pinkie. On the west of Edinburgh the coast plain is similarly narrowed where Linlithgow stands between Bonnytown Hill on the north and Riccarton Hills on the south. During the War of Independence the castle built here by Edward I. was long held by the English as a link in their chain of fortresses connecting Stirling with Berwick and the south. Linlithgow was captured in 1313; Edinburgh fell the following year; and then Stirling surrendered after Edward II. failed at Bannockburn to raise the siege. Battlefields still further west of Edinburgh have more immediate reference to the strategical importance of Stirling. It was from this district of Lothian that English speech spread throughout the lowlands of Scotland. The long stretch of coastline along the Firth of Forth early encouraged the development of fishing. From Edinburgh eastward to North Berwick especially the coast is low and sandy; then come steep and

rocky cliffs where stands the old Douglas stronghold of Tantallon.

“ Mak a brig to the Bass ;
Ding down Tantallon ”

scornfully says the old proverb. Beyond the cliffs is the Tyne estuary; and beyond again the rugged coastline of Dunbar. The Tyne basin lies between the Lammermuirs and uplands which stretch westward from the Garleton Hills, north of Haddington, the county town of East Lothian. Here, where the valley is enriched by wide deposits of alluvium, and along the coast, were the principal centres of population before the development of the coalfield. Haddington itself lies in the Tyne valley, on the Great North Road between Edinburgh and Berwick, though only on a branch line of railway. In Midlothian too it was along the coast and in the valley of the Esk, in addition to the capital, that population naturally concentrated. The two things that most struck foreign visitors to the Lothians before 1707 were the number of houses and castles round Edinburgh, belonging to the nobility and gentry—more than a hundred within a seven-mile radius, reported one; and, secondly, the salt-works for the manufacture of salt from sea water which extended westward along the shores of the Firth for about thirty miles from Prestonpans. Quantities of salt were exported from the ports on the south side of the Firth to England and the Low Countries, and in lesser extent to France, Denmark, and Norway.¹

¹ Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, pp. 246, 148, 167.

CHAPTER V.

THE BURGHS AND MEDIEVAL TRADE.

THE medieval burgh was almost as essential a characteristic of its epoch as feudalism or the medieval church. It might in Scotland be a "royal burgh," a "burgh of regality," or a "burgh of barony." In the royal burgh, which was erected by royal charter, every burgess held direct of the crown; burghs of regality and of barony held in vassalage of some great lordship, lay or ecclesiastical, but they too were always at least in theory created by crown grant, and a much more real distinction is to be found in the actual cause of origin. This, as a rule, was due to one, or to a combination, of three main influences, military, ecclesiastical, and commercial. On the continent, especially in the Rhineland, southern France, and Italy, some medieval towns stood on the sites of Roman *municipia*. In England Verulamium (St. Albans) was the only *municipium*, but at Colchester, Gloucester, Lincoln, and York were Roman *coloniae*, while many English settlements were made on the sites of unprivileged market-towns. In Scotland, where the occupation had been entirely military, and of short duration, no such sites existed. Cramond was a Roman seaport, and seems to have played a part of some importance

during the northern expedition of Severus early in the third century; Inveresk was probably a Roman station, and a few forts stood on or near the line of the Antonine Wall, or on the roads which linked it to the Tyne-Solway barrier, or ran northward beyond it towards the gates of the Highlands. But the particular strategical conditions which gave importance to Inveresk and Cramond had long passed away ere Scotland entered upon the life of the Middle Ages, and no modern Scottish town can trace its continued existence back to the Roman period.

These considerations, however, serve to bring out the fact that the first influence in the creation of a burgh was often military. In an early and unsettled state of society man's greatest need, after sustenance, is protection. The volcanic bosses that are so conspicuous a feature in the scenery of the Central Valley of Scotland offered many a strong position for the foundation of a castle, and round the fortress there soon clustered the rude huts of a village, partly for protection, partly to serve the wants of the garrison. Such must have been the origin of Dumbarton (Alclyde), the centre of the British kingdom of Strathclyde; such too the origin of Stirling and of Edinburgh, with their castles established on the old volcanic neck forming a "crag," and the attendant villages spreading gradually down the sloping "tail" of boulder clay. Edinburgh, indeed, says Robert Louis Stevenson in his *Picturesque Notes*, "grew, under the law that regulates the growth of walled cities in precarious situations, not in extent, but in height and

density. Public buildings were forced, wherever there was room for them, into the midst of thoroughfares; thoroughfares were diminished into lanes; houses sprang up story after story, neighbour mounting upon neighbour's shoulder, as in some Black Hole of Calcutta, until the population slept fourteen or fifteen deep in a vertical direction."

"Where the huge castle holds its state,
And all the steep slope down,
Whose ridgy back heaves to the sky
Piled deep and massy, close and high,
Mine own romantic town."

Something has already been said (p. 35) of the strategical situation of Stirling. That of Edinburgh, in the gap, six miles wide, between the Pentlands and the sea, was formerly enhanced by the fact that access from the west was practically restricted to the strip of country between the coast and Corstorphine village by two sheets of water, Gogar and Corstorphine Lochs, not now in existence.¹ The latter extended apparently nearly three miles westward from the site of the present Haymarket railway station; it is shown as of considerable extent on Blaeu's map of 1662, but was partially drained a few years later in 1670, the work of reclamation being completed in 1837. Gogar loch was separated from Corstorphine loch by a narrow neck of land on which Corstorphine castle stood. It is referred to as bog and marsh at the time of Cromwell's 1650 campaign in

¹ H. M. Cadell, *Some Ancient Landmarks of Midlothian* (with Map). (*Scottish Geog. Mag.*, ix., pp. 306-7.)

Lothian.¹ The Stirling and Edinburgh road ran through Corstorphine along the northern margin of these lochs. It was separated from the road to Queensferry by Corstorphine Hill. On the east of the town Duddingston Loch must also, in the early days of the burgh, have been a considerably larger sheet of water than at present; at one time it possibly stretched as far as Nether Liberton. The Burgh Loch was situated where the Meadows are to-day.

Besides Edinburgh and Stirling, the royal demesne and castle seem to have been the nucleus of the burghs of old Roxburgh, at the junction of Teviot and Tweed, of Forfar, and probably of Lanark. Indeed, it is possible to go, with Cosmo Innes, even further, and to lay it down as a general rule that there was originally a royal castle at every ancient royal burgh.² There is, however, a more marked Scottish parallel to the strategical burghs founded for the defence of the English midlands by the deliberate policy of Alfred, and of Edward the Elder and his sister, the Lady of the Mercians. In 1197 William the Lion built a castle at Ayr, midway on the curving coastline of Ayrshire, with natural advantages for a harbour, and so situated that lines radiating from it to the entrances to the shire at Beith Gap, Loudoun Hill, Muirkirk, Cumnock, Dalmellington, and Stranraer, strike the shire boundary almost at right angles. The fine strategical position of Ayr made it, indeed, a centre of the English commanders' operations against Bruce in

¹ Carlyle, *Cromwell*, iii., pp. 26-7.

² *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. xxiv.

the west in the War of Independence. Here, too, where probably a village had already long existed, King William encouraged the settlement of a burgh, to which some ten years later he granted a charter. In fact, save under such legal protection, life and property were none too safe for the inhabitants of such a place in proximity to the garrison of the castle. Dumfries and Lanark, too, as well as Ayr, have been suggested by Dr George Neilson in the Rhind Lectures of 1913 as co-ordinate foundations of castle, burgh, and county for the subjection of the disturbed West. The English burghs artificially created in the Danelaw had to a very great extent an agricultural character; within the town's jurisdiction lay large tracts of meadow, arable land, and forest, included partly because they were the lands worked by the first farmer-burgesses, partly perhaps to interest the local population in the defence of the burgh.¹ It is interesting to note a similar feature, and in so rich an agricultural district to suspect a similar cause, in connection with Ayr, where burgesses holding a full toft of land within the town were each entitled to six acres of the burgh territory, which they might clear of wood. But this is characteristic not only of Ayr. A charter of James II. (1451-2), for example, alludes to the grant to Peebles by former sovereigns of the lands of Kingsmuir, Caidmuir, Hamilton, Venlaw, and Glentress²; and, in point of fact the town probably possessed

¹ See generally H. W. C. Davis, *The English Borough* (Quarterly Review, No. 414).

² *Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles*, p. 17. (Scot. Burgh Records Society, 1872.)

more land than it could stock. "In the time of Mary," writes Professor Hume Brown, "the towns were still essentially rural communities, owing little to trade and mechanical industries." The case of Peebles is of special interest as instancing the predominance of the desire for protection, no doubt particularly strong in a Border district. The old town of Peebles stretched between the two churches of St. Andrew and of the Holy Cross, on a broad alluvial plateau on the north bank of the Tweed. It was thus wholly open to attack. By the reign of Edward I. in England, however, a royal castle had been built on the adjoining peninsula formed by the confluence of the "Peebles Water" (Eddleston Water) with the Tweed; and round this the New Town began to grow up on a mass of diluvial gravel, about sixty feet above the level of the streams. In Edinburgh some burgesses even had houses in the castle; and everywhere it was the bounden duty of each burgess to take his part, if need be, in the town's defence, and the first condition of citizenship that he should possess the full necessary equipment of arms and armour.

It is possible that it is to military considerations there should even be attributed the first great step in the organisation of the Third Estate of the kingdom. In the ninth century, before commerce had grown specially important, the military confederation of the Five Burghs had been established in England in the Danelaw. It has been suggested that it was upon a similar basis that the neighbouring state of Northumbria, also a

Danish conquest, organised its four chief northern strongholds, Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling.¹ This is conjecture only, but it is certain that this confederation took an important part in early Scottish history. Representatives of these four burghs, or, when any of the four were in English hands, of other royal burghs in the south of Scotland, often meeting at Haddington, as the *Curia Quatuor Burgorum* dealt with the regulation of trade, decided disputes in accordance with burghal customs, and legislated in burghal questions with sovereign authority; and from this Court of the Four Burghs derives to some extent the later, still existing, Convention of Royal Burghs.

To another group of burghs must be assigned an ecclesiastical origin. In English history the best known examples of this type include Durham and, thanks to *Past and Present*, St. Edmundsbury. In Scotland each of the episcopal sees and many of the great abbeys, as Kelso, Jedburgh, Paisley, obtained by crown grant foundations and rights of trading for the dependent villages which inevitably grew up around them—invariably, for where, as at Elgin, there was a cathedral staff of more than a hundred clergy, the mere service of their daily wants was bound to concentrate a considerable population. Robert, bishop of St. Andrews in the reign of David I., the epoch when Scotland definitely entered upon the life of the Middle Ages, declares in his charter that he has founded a burgh at St. Andrews

¹ R. Renwick, Preface to *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland*. (Scot. Burgh Records Society, 1910.)

"Deo auxiliante et licentia regis nostri David"—"by God's help and by grant of David, our king." The first provost of the new burgh was Mainard, a Fleming, a burgess of the king's royal burgh of Berwick, whom David gave to the bishop at the same time as he granted the right of foundation of the burgh. To the monks of Holyrood the same sovereign allowed the foundation of a burgh between their church and the royal burgh of Edinburgh, with the same rights of buying and selling in the Edinburgh market for the citizens of the new burgh as the burgesses of Edinburgh themselves enjoyed.¹ But many of these burghs of ecclesiastical foundation never rose much beyond their original condition—Dunkeld, Dunblane, Rosemarkie, and Dornoch are examples of such cases—and where there was prosperity and development the cause is often to be found in factors other than ecclesiastical. It has already been noted how military reasons brought about the transference to a new site of the town of Peebles, originally grouped round the two churches. Kelso was an abbey town, but stood also at a ford on the Tweed. The burgh founded by the Holyrood monks—the Canon-gate—between the abbey church and the royal burgh of Edinburgh has been swallowed up by the more important town.

It was not only in the case of burghs of ecclesiastical foundation, however, that the cause which brought them into existence proved unable to give them the elements of stability and progress, though a few might persist as centres of pilgrimage. The towns which had an origin

¹ Sir A. C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 132, 118.

essentially military lost in time of peace all their advantage over their less well-protected neighbours. In some instances this might be partly compensated by their adoption as centres of shire administration. But in the long run it was trade alone which could ensure to a burgh enduring prosperity. This is indeed shown by the anxiety with which the founders of burghs ecclesiastical in origin sought from the crown trade privileges for the burghs of their foundation. By a charter of William the Lion, for example, bishop Joceline of Glasgow and his successors were empowered to have a burgh at Glasgow, with a market on Thursday; by a second charter the burgesses were granted the right to hold a fair yearly for eight days from 6th July. The early charters to burghs contain this privilege of a market, exemption from toll and tribute, and from distraint for debt save for a burgess's own debts. And in addition to their more general advantages, many burghs enjoyed the exclusive rights of trade within a considerable surrounding district. Perth, Inverness, Aberdeen, had such rights within their own counties; Rutherglen in a district of which the limits are uncertain. The burgesses of Inverkeithing had sole right to levy toll and custom and all the rights pertaining to a burgh from the water of Leven to the water of Devon, a region which included the burghs of Kinross, Burntisland, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, and Dysart. The citizens of Edinburgh monopolised trade and manufacture between the river Almond and Edgebucklin Brae. These privileges of burghership, however, could be enjoyed only

by freemen who held property within the burgh, and in this fact is much of the significance of the numerous grants to religious houses by David I. of lands within his burghs. For it was the great monasteries which first created the industrial prosperity and foreign trade of the country. Thus from King David the monks of Dunfermline received grants in Dunfermline, Haddington, Berwick, Edinburgh, Perth, Roxburgh, and Stirling. Kelso received land in Roxburgh and Renfrew; Dryburgh a manor in Crail; Holyrood had grants in Edinburgh, Berwick, Stirling, and Renfrew. David's predecessor, Alexander I., had endowed the Priory of Scone with property in Edinburgh, Stirling, Inverkeithing, Perth, and Aberdeen. The abbeys of Aberbrothoc and Cupar had houses in Perth.

Of the large number of Scottish burghs which owed their origin or their prosperity to commerce, one group had their importance from their situation with reference to the main lines of communication throughout the country. These were not in Scotland, as in medieval England, based upon a system of roads which was a legacy of the Roman occupation. It is true that a Roman road, of which the course, from the Wall of Severus at Corbridge across the Cheviots to Newstead near Melrose in the Tweed valley, and thence up the Leader and across the Lammermuirs to Inveresk and Cramond and the Antonine Wall, has already been traced, crossed the mountain barrier of the Southern Uplands on the east, and it is likely that a similar

military way crossed them on the west also, between Carlisle and the Clyde terminus of the Antonine Wall, though the course of this second road cannot be traced further north than Birrens in Dumfriesshire. A third road of Roman origin, the "Wheel Causeway," was used in the Middle Ages for communication between Liddesdale and Jedburgh. But the line of the eastern road, though the most direct between Wall and Wall, was not the natural one for a commercial or indeed for a military route to take under altered conditions. The natural line was by the lowlands of the coast, and this must have been the route followed by the highway (called in a charter of 1376 the *via Scoticana*) which as early as the reign of William the Lion ran from Berwick to Inverness, doubtless by the Stonehaven defile and Aberdeen. It is questionable, however, whether this was throughout a road for wheeled carriages, and was not rather in many parts suited only for pack- or saddle-horses. At the same period another public road from Galloway traversed Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, probably entering Ayrshire by the coast, for as late as 1776 no main road traversed the wild moors by Loch Doon; a third, passing near Lanark, reached Edinburgh. About 1290, some hundred years later, it is known that the monks of Kelso Abbey had a waggon road which communicated on the one hand with Berwick, on the other with their cell at Lesmahagow in Clydesdale, across the broad flat valley of Biggar which separates only by some seven miles the waters of Clyde and

Tweed. Holinshed's *Chronicle* gives a list of seven Scottish roads: two between Berwick and Edinburgh, respectively 57 and 41 miles; one from Edinburgh to Dumbarton, 48 miles; one from Stirling to Kinghorn, 30 miles; one from Kinghorn to Taymouth, 31 miles; one from Taymouth to Stockford, 179 miles; and one from Carlisle to Whithorn, 79 miles. Blaeu's Atlas shows roads between Glasgow and Paisley, and from Edinburgh (1) to Queensferry; (2) to Linlithgow by Kirkliston, presumably continued along the carse lands of the Forth to Stirling; (3) to Clydesdale, in two branches, one by Uphall and Bangour, probably to Airdrie, the other to Bothwell by Blackburn; and (4) on either side of the Pentland Hills, by Dalmahoy and Corston Hill, and by Penicuik and (West) Linton. Thus from the earliest feudal times there were roads in Scotland, some being highways (*viae*) of a regulation breadth of twenty feet, others merely by-paths (*semitae*). The feudal obligation of the *trinoda necessitas* — the maintenance of roads, bridges, and fortifications — was imposed on all properties; and the duty was supposed to be enforced first by the sheriffs, later by the sheriffs with the justices of the peace. Often, however, the law would become a dead letter; and it was sometimes only by the services of a guide that strangers could find their way even from one large town to another.

As regards bridges, no stone bridges seem to have been built in Scotland in the long period between the Roman occupation and the thirteenth century, and no

bridge of Roman construction is now extant in Scotland.¹ The bridge at Berwick is first mentioned in 1199, when it fell, owing to a flood. It was several times rebuilt, sometimes in wood, sometimes in stone. In 1294 it was again destroyed by floods, and was not rebuilt till 1376. King Alexander II. met his father's funeral procession at the bridge of Perth in 1214; and there are also thirteenth-century references to the bridges of Ettrick, Dumfries, Stirling, and to the Nungate bridge at Haddington. The bridge of thirteen arches over the Nith at Dumfries was considered the finest in Britain after London Bridge. There are fourteenth-century references to Balgownie, Earn, and Glasgow bridges, and in the fifteenth century to Dunblane, Guardbridge near St. Andrews, Lauder, and Dunkeld, and to the "Bishop's Brig" over the Machany between Muthill and Braco. To the period before the Reformation also belong the bridges at Cramond, East Linton, Dalkeith, Tullibody, Jedburgh, Bothwell, Hamilton, Musselburgh, Peebles, Irvine, Ayr, Doon, and the Bridge of Dee at Aberdeen. It has, however, been estimated that about 1630 there were only some 220 fair-sized bridges in the whole country, of which about 70 still survive. Favourably situated with reference to these bridges or lines of communication, then, it was natural that villages should grow to towns, and towns secure importance which was part strategical, but mainly commercial. One instance is Perth, which, however, as already shown (p. 61),

¹ See a paper by H. Inglis, read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Jany. 1912, and subsequent correspondence in *The Scotsman*.

enjoyed the additional advantage of the Highland trade, while the Tay was also navigable up to the bridge of Perth, in Hardyng's phrase,

“For all suche shippes as bee able
Fortie tunne of wyne to carry up and doune.”

Dunfermline and Inverkeithing grew up at the ferry where there was the narrowest crossing of the Firth of Forth. The ferry at Inverkeithing is mentioned in a charter dating from about 1150. Glasgow stands at the lowest point where the Clyde could be spanned by a bridge, and where the two routes down Clydesdale to the shores of the Firth are crossed by the third from the east by Falkirk to the Ayrshire plain through Beith Gap. Inverness is at the convergence of five routes (1) from Buchan along the coast of the Moray Firth, (2) from Strathspey over the Monadhliaths, (3) down Glenmore, (4) from Skye through Glencarron, and (5) from Caithness by the coast of Sutherland. Forfar is on the main route between Perth and Aberdeen; Dunbar and Berwick are on the south-eastern coastal road; Linlithgow on the same road where it passes between the Riccarton Hills on the south and Bonnytoun Hill south of Grange-pans on the Forth.

A second class of burgh was important as outlets for the produce of an economic hinterland. Of this class the most striking instance is Berwick. The smooth, sweeping outlines of the hills of the Southern Uplands, coated with coarse grass or short heath, at an early date formed the pasture ground of great flocks of sheep,

owned by the monasteries of Tweeddale. Sir Walter Scott indeed suggests that the grants, so regretted by his successor, made to religious houses in this district, were part of a deliberate policy, by which David I., the "sore saint" for the Scottish Crown as James VI. called him, sought—though vainly—to place the rich lands of the most exposed districts of his kingdom in the hands of those whom even the moss-troopers of the English Border might hesitate to rob. The hope, if such there were, proved false; but even after the ravages of the first War of Independence the abbeys of Kelso and Melrose are mentioned in a Florentine list of about 1315, as well as in an earlier Flemish list of about 1280, as supplying raw wool for export. The port for this export trade of wool, wool-fels, and hides was Berwick; it has already been noticed how the monks of Kelso had communication by waggon road with Berwick; and to the trade the burgh owed its remarkable commercial prosperity. The Chronicle of Lanercost speaks of it in the time of Alexander III. as "a second Alexandria"; its customs were accepted as security for a debt worth £2197, 8s. sterling, at a time when the whole revenue of England amounted only to £8411, 19s. 11½d. And even in 1327, after the terrible sack of the city by Edward I., and the destruction of the trading factory, the "Red-hall," which a Flemish company had there, Berwick with £266, 13s. 4d. still headed the list of fixed rents payable by the royal burghs of Scotland. Contributory causes for the prosperity of Berwick must have been

its position on the main north and south road, and the important salmon fishing on the Tweed, but it owed its existence as a port to the wool trade. The harbour, in itself, as we know (p. 33) was a poor one.

Another great sheep-farming district was the hills of the western Southern Uplands—"Galloway for 'oo," says the old rhyme. Lithgow, an English visitor, considered the wool of the Galloway sheep "nothing inferior" to that of the famous Biscay breed; and both the Flemish and the Florentine lists already referred to mention the abbeys of Dundrennan and Glenluce as sources of the supply of raw wool, the export of which must have helped to develop the prosperity of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright. Dumfries in addition to export took up the manufacture of the raw wool into a delicate white woollen cloth mentioned by Hector Boece.

Yet another group of Scottish burghs owed much of their importance to the fisheries. "The inhabitants of the westerne parts of *Scotland*," says Fynes Moryson (1598), "carry into Ireland and neighbouring places red and pickeled Herrings, Sea coales, and Aquavita, with like commodities, and bring out of Ireland Yarne and Cowes hide or Silver. The Easterne Scots carry into *France* coarse cloathes, both linnen and woollen, which be narrow and shrinkle in the wetting. They also carry thether wooll, skinnes of Goates, Weathers, and of Conies, and divers kindes of Fishes, taken in the Scottish Seas, and neere other Northerne Islands, and after smoked, or otherwise dried and salted." John Major,

writing rather earlier,¹ states that "Great quantities of salmon, herring, and a kind of dried fish which they call stock fish are exported. The quantity is so great that it suffices for Italy, France, Flanders, and England." This last estimate, however, must certainly be greatly exaggerated, especially when it is remembered that at the time Major wrote the Reformation had as yet made little progress, and in all these countries fish, by the practice of the Roman Catholic Church, was a most important article of food. On the west coast towns which developed with the fishing trade were Glasgow and Irvine; on the east Dunbar, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and in fact all the small burghs of the coast of Fife, that "beggar's mantle with a fringe of gold."

How² steady was the rise of these Fife burghs may be judged from their early representation in the Scottish Parliament. Seven burghs—none of them Fife burghs—were represented at Cambuskenneth in 1367. In the fifteenth century twenty-seven were added, of which seventeen belonged to the east of Scotland, and four (St. Andrews, Crail, Kinghorn, and Inverkeithing) to the coast of Fife. In the next hundred years there was an addition of fourteen burghs, of which half were Fife coast towns (Pittenweem, Kirkcaldy, Burntisland, Culross, East and West Anstruther, Dysart), and Glasgow the only one from the west of Scotland. To these coast burghs should be added Newburgh, originally a burgh

¹ *The Days of James IV.*, p. 62.

² The principal authority for this paragraph is L. J. Saunders, *A Geographical Description of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan*, (*Scot. Geog. Mag.*, XXIX., p. 67).

of barony, associated with Lindores, but in 1593 and 1631 granted all the privileges of a royal burgh, though not represented as such in Parliament, Dunfermline, which was only three miles from the coast, and Kilrenny, which became a royal burgh in 1707. Against these fourteen there are only three inland burghs to be set—Cupar, Falkland, and Auchtermuchty—all in Stratheden. Here there was a climate and dry soils favouring the development of agriculture; and, in addition, Cupar and Falkland probably drew importance from their position as route-towns, the second placed between the Lomond Hills and the marshy land of the Howe of Fife and Loch Rossie, Cupar at a ford on the Eden which served both the route from Perth to St. Andrews across the Ochils by the Pass of Lindores, and that between the Firths of Forth and Tay through the Pass of Markinch between the Lomonds and the high ground of the East Neuk. The grouping of the coast burghs deserves attention. On the north-west and east, the Firth of Tay and St. Andrews Bay, where there was an absence of good harbours and only a narrow strip of cultivable land along the coast, there were only two royal burghs, Newburgh, opposite the Pass of Lindores, and St. Andrews, the port for Stratheden. Between Fife Ness and Kincaig, however, where there were good harbours, rich soils, and hill pasture for flocks, there were six burghs on a stretch of thirteen miles; then five more within fourteen miles of coast between Dysart and the promontory of Ferryhill; and then Dunfermline and Culross.

Commerce, then, in the long run, played the most

important part in the development of the Scottish burghs. As early as the twelfth century there was a Hanse or association of the free burghs north of the Mounth, which was probably formed for the promotion and protection of trade, just as the Hanseatic League arose about the same time on the Continent. The history of the burghs, in fact, includes the history of early Scottish trade. In 1466 the privilege of exporting or importing merchandise was restricted to freemen, burgesses, and their factors; and in 1503 persons dwelling outside burghs were forbidden to sell wine or staple goods. Ships might trade only to royal burghs. In 1633 these privileges of selling and buying were restricted to royal burghs, in retail as well as wholesale trade. In 1672 the system was modified, so that anyone became permitted to export native raw material, and burgesses of barony and regality could export their own manufactures, and import certain specified articles. Then again in 1690 there was a return to the exclusive export and import by royal burghs, save where bestial and native raw material were concerned. The over-seas trade developed with the rise of the feudal monarchy. We hear in the end of the twelfth century of vessels sailing from Berwick to Flanders, from Perth to Newcastle, and from some Scottish port not mentioned to Sandwich.¹ In the thirteenth, Wallace and Andrew de Moray corresponded officially with the Hanseatic ports of Lubeck and Hamburg, for the encouragement of trade

¹ Sir A. C. Lawrie, *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William*, pp. 130, 396, 347.

relations. But the great struggle with England in the Wars of Independence struck a heavy blow at the prosperity of the country. Before these wars, under the kings of the House of Malcolm Canmore, Scotland made great strides both in foreign trade and in matters of internal administration. Then for half a century there was the fight, almost unbroken, to maintain the national existence, and even after that intermittent war with England till the Reformation. As results, trade inevitably suffered, and the principal efforts of the earlier kings of the House of Stewart had to be directed towards making good the authority of the central power over its too formidable vassals. The reign of James IV., however, saw a marked change for the better, and Scotland in fact now began to be a factor worth consideration in European politics. The step forward must be attributed at least in part to James himself. "I am told," wrote Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, "that Scotland has improved so much during his reign that it is worth three times more now than formerly. Spaniards who live in Flanders tell me that the commerce of Scotland is much more considerable now than formerly, and that it is continually increasing."

About this time Scottish trade relations abroad centred at four principal points, "at *Campfire* in *Zetland* (Campvere, now Veere, near Middelburg, in the Netherlands), whether they carry Salt, the Skins of Weathers, Otters, Badgers, and Martens, and bring from thence Corne. And at *Burdeaux* in France, whether they carry cloathes, and the same skinnes, and bring from thence

Wines, Prunes, Walnuts, and Chessenuts. Thirdly, within the *Balticke Sea*, whether they carry the said Cloathes and Skinnes, and bring thence Flaxe, Hempe, Iron, Pitch, and Tarre. And, lastly, in *England*, whether they carry Linnen cloathes, Yarne, and Salt, and bring thence Wheate, Oates, Beanes, and like things.”¹ At Campvere was the Scottish Staple for trade with the Low Countries. Previous to the reign of James IV. it had been first at Bruges, and then at Middelburg, in the Isle of Walcheren.

The trade improvement, on the whole, was kept up till after the Union of the Crowns, when the fatal attempt of the Stuarts to force their will on Scotland brought on wars, which, though successful, left such a legacy of misery behind them that the country was compelled at last to buy the possibility of economic existence, which a full commercial union with England alone could give, by the sacrifice in part of her national independence.

¹ Fynes Moryson, *Early Travellers*, p. 87.

CHAPTER VI.

THE UNION AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

BROADLY speaking, there have been three main factors in the transition from the life of seventeenth-century Scotland to the life of to-day. These are the Union of 1707,¹ the Industrial Revolution, and the French Revolution. The third it is only possible to mention here. We have already had cause to notice the strong democratic tendencies of the national temperament. To the Revolution must directly be ascribed the Reform Act of 1832, and the Reform Act, declared Gladstone, while for England it meant improvement and extension of existing rights and privileges, was for Scotland "political birth, the beginning of a duty and a power, neither of which had attached to the Scottish nation in the preceding period."

The causes and results of the two other factors, so far as these are geographical, it is proposed to summarise in this last chapter.

¹ For a full treatment of the commercial causes of the Union of 1707 see Theodora Keith, *Commercial Relations of England and Scotland, 1603-1707*.

Commercially, the Union of the Crowns in 1603 was in two respects unsatisfactory. The trade relations of Scotland were strongest with France and the Dutch, and very weak with England, for English trade by land was much interfered with by the disturbed condition of the Borders. Unfortunately, it was precisely against France and Holland that the main efforts of seventeenth-century English statesmen, both in commerce and in war, were to be directed. Secondly, manufactures in Scotland were more backward than in England; raw materials were the chief export; and hence the two countries really required quite different commercial regulations. This backwardness was due to lack of capital, poverty of soil, and unfavourable location with regard to the great centres of European trade. Against these three factors it was necessary for Scotland to struggle if the country was to win its way to existence as a modern state. Scottish economic history in the seventeenth century is a record of the attempt to establish national manufactures, and to make use of the country's favourable situation for the new trade with the American Plantations, as against its unfavourable position for European trade. A measure of success in the establishment of manufactures allowed Scotland in 1707 to enter into full commercial union with England on much more equal terms than she could have done in 1603, and thus to obtain a share of that American trade which otherwise she had proved unable to secure. The third element of weakness, the natural poverty of the soil, was also to be counter-balanced

when the Industrial Revolution brought on the development of the country's mineral wealth.

James himself, on his accession to the English throne, was anxious for commercial union between his two kingdoms, but the project met with bitter opposition. Centuries of national hostility could not at once be forgotten; and though a common Protestantism had made possible the union of the crowns, both English Episcopalianism and English Puritanism were essentially very different from Scottish Presbyterianism. English merchants, too, were unwilling that their advantages should be shared by Scots, whose lower customs duties meant smaller burdens on trade, while they were jealous of the privileges of naturalisation in France, enjoyed by Scotsmen since 1558. Hence under the Stuarts there was no freedom of trade between the two countries; and when in 1654 the Council of State passed the Ordinance of Union providing for Scotland and England becoming one Commonwealth, with parliamentary and commercial union, the change was naturally unpopular in Scotland, as enforced on a conquered country, and one, too, which had been exhausted by the expenses of a war and devastated by Cromwell's campaigns. Scotland certainly benefited by the strict enforcement of the law under the Commonwealth; but in the six years for which the Union lasted the country could not adapt itself to new tariffs and trade regulations, while it was heavily taxed to support the English garrison, and there was a prohibition on the export of certain raw materials, such as wool, which export was a

-main feature of Scottish trade, but against the interest of the English woollen manufacturers.¹ Hence on the Restoration there was a return to the old system of commercial rivalry.

Both countries now developed a strict system of Parliamentary protection of the national manufactures, a system completed in Scotland by the Act of 1681. As a result, about fifty new manufactories were started. The home market, however, was a small one, and Scottish merchants fully realised that if there was to be an expansion of industry, a first essential was new markets. Therefore, in defiance of the English Navigation Acts they traded with the American Plantations, at first principally with Barbados, later with Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania. Boston, too, became a great centre of this illegal trade. By the end of the century it had increased to considerable volume. The chief Scottish ports engaged in it were those on the Clyde, with Aberdeen, and Leith, carrying over coarse cloth and linen, stockings, hats, and beef, and bringing home tobacco, furs, and skins, and sugar from Virginia and the Caribbee islands for the manufactories of Glasgow and Leith.² This inevitably brought about great discontent in England, especially as the Scots also continued as far as possible to keep up their trade relations with Holland and France even when England was at war with these countries. English merchants feared that Dutch goods would find their way into the Plantations

¹ Keith, *Commercial Relations*, pp. 56, 61.

² *Ib.*, pp. 123, 126, 118, 76-7.

in Scottish vessels. On the other side of the question, the Scots were treated as foreigners in England; their goods were kept out by tariffs; the Plantation trade was prohibited to them, though unsuccessfully; and English wars damaged their foreign trade. The position was indeed an impossible one for both countries.

The Darien scheme brought the problem to a head. The English trade with India was mainly in the hands of the East India Company, which strenuously resisted the attempts of private traders, "interlopers" as they were called, to break down the monopoly. William Paterson, a native of Dumfriesshire, who had lived in the Bahamas, and whose scheme for a national bank, accepted by the English Parliament, had resulted in the formation of the Bank of England, brought forward a proposal that the Scottish Parliament should give legislative sanction to a "Company trading to Africa and the Indies," in competition with the English East India Company. Half the capital was to be raised in Scotland; but Paterson hoped that the scheme would also be largely taken up in England and in Holland. The Act was passed by the Scottish Parliament, June, 1693; but naturally the scheme met with strenuous resistance from the English and Dutch Companies, and also from the English Parliament; neither English nor Dutch support was forthcoming; and the Company remained purely Scottish in character. In Scotland, however, the national spirit was aroused to a pitch of enthusiasm. Over £50,000 were subscribed on the first day, and in less than six months the whole amount,

fixed at £400,000, was subscribed, of which however only about £220,000 were actually paid up. The number of shareholders was about 1400. Under the advice of Paterson the Company now determined to establish a colony on the Isthmus of Darien, which joins Central and South America, the narrow neck of land where in 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, "silent upon a peak in Darien," gazed upon the Pacific stretching beneath him in the Gulf of San Miguel. Paterson, in fact, reverted to the idea with which Columbus had sailed across the Atlantic, to find a westward route to the Indies. The Darien colony was to be a depôt for East and West Indian goods; there was to be free trade, and no distinction in race or religion, but a small tribute was to be paid by traders to the Company which was to change Scotland from a poor to a wealthy nation. On July 26th, 1698, the expedition sailed from Leith "amid the tears and prayers and praises of relatives and countrymen"; and on November 4th reached Darien. The place chosen for the colony, however, and named New Caledonia, was very near the Spanish settlements of Carthagena, Panama, and Porto Rico; and it was quite certain the Spaniards would not welcome this intrusion into their sphere of influence. Lack of provisions, an unhealthy climate, and anarchy amongst the colonists, soon reduced the first settlers to a wretched condition; and in June, 1699, they re-embarked and sailed for New York, at last reaching home in December. A second and a third expedition had been sent out from Scotland in the same year. They arrived to find the settlement deserted; and

in March, 1700, the last body of colonists surrendered to a Spanish fleet sent against them.

The final disaster struck a heavy blow at the commercial existence of Scotland. The money invested in the enterprise and now totally lost represented a great proportion of Scottish capital, so great, indeed, that it was eighteen years before Glasgow merchants again possessed a ship of their own; and the national resentment was very strong against the English Parliament and against King William, whose opposition to the scheme, Scotsmen justly considered, had so largely contributed to its failure. Side by side with this same bitterness, however, came the conviction that English capital, essential to Scottish enterprise, would never be allowed to be invested in any scheme over which the English Parliament had not control; while the English had seen the possibilities that a Scottish trading company would become a serious rival to English companies, and that England might even be dragged into a foreign war by such a company's actions. Thus the failure of this final attempt of the Scottish nation to realise the advantages for trade which their geographical position with regard to the New World ought to have given really forced home the conviction that a distinct Scottish state had at last become impossible, and prepared the way for Union.

The achievement of this end, however, was not easy. By the deaths of the Duke of Gloucester, Anne's child, and of William, the English crown was, by the Act of Settlement of 1701, on Anne's death to come to the

Electress Sophia of Hanover and her heirs. The Scottish Parliament, smarting under the memory of the Darien failure, declared by the Act of Security (passed in 1704) that, on the Queen's death, the Scottish Parliament should nominate a successor to the Scottish crown, who should not be the same as the successor to the English crown, unless the freedom of the Scottish Parliament, and of Scottish religion and commerce were first secured. This threat, for threat it was, was answered by the English Parliament by an Act providing for the appointment of Commissioners to treat for a more complete Union, and, failing settlement of the Scottish crown on the same person as in England, for the prohibition of Scottish trade with England, and the treatment of the Scots as aliens. Following this, in September, 1705, the Scottish Parliament also agreed to the appointment of Commissioners; and early in 1707 the Act of Union passed both Parliaments. In return for the surrender to the British Parliament at Westminster of the control over Scottish political and commercial relations, Scotland obtained at last free trade with England and the Plantations; and though the sacrifice of Scotland's independent existence was by many bitterly regretted, as late as the days of Sir Walter Scott, yet at this price the country secured, what had otherwise been impossible, the chance of commercial and cultural development, and the substitution of a share in the work of building up the British Empire for what could only have become an insignificant and poverty-stricken national life, without the possibility of real contribution to the sum of civilisa-

tion. England on her side gained most important security from a Scottish alliance with France, and from disturbance of her commercial system.

The main geographical result of the Union, apart from the general expansion of Scottish commerce, was the great development of the west at the expense of the east of the country with the growth of the trade with the Plantations. Glasgow merchants, at first having no vessels of their own as the result of their losses in the Darien scheme, chartered ships for this trade from Whitehaven, but in 1718 a Clyde-built vessel crossed the Atlantic; by 1735 Glasgow had 67 vessels with a tonnage of 5,600; and in 1772 the shipping of the Clyde ports was estimated at over 60,000 tons. The population of Glasgow, 12,766 in 1708, was 17,043 in 1736, and 25,546 in 1757—that is, it had doubled in fifty years.¹ Greenock in the first half of the eighteenth century constructed a fine harbour; Paisley rose from a small village to an important manufacturing centre; and by the time of the outbreak of the American War of Independence the annual imports to the Clyde from Virginia and Maryland were worth half a million pounds sterling, inclusive of 40,000 hogsheads of tobacco, more than half the total import to Great Britain, which was re-shipped to all the markets of Europe.² The deepening of the Clyde begun under an Act of Parliament of 1770 enabled vessels to come up the river to Glasgow itself instead of as previously discharging their cargoes at

¹ Sir James D. Marwick, *The River Clyde and the Clyde Burghs* (Scottish Burgh Record Society), pp. 167, 160, 169.

² *Ib.*, p. 185.

Port-Glasgow. But, as the west grew, so, with the falling off in trade with France and Holland, the east declined. The heavy salt dues levied after the Union ruined for a time the eastern ports which had been engaged in the herring fishery, and in the salting of the fish for export, though it is true that even before this the trade had begun to suffer from the competition of the Dutch. About 1730 Carlyle of Inveresk, then a boy, was living at Prestonpans, and in his *Autobiography* he tells at that time "there still remained some foreign trade, though their shipping had been reduced from twenty to half that number since the Union, which put an end to the foreign trade in the ports of the Firth of Forth."¹ At the close of the century the salt-duties were reduced, with most beneficial results to the Scottish fishing industry.

Modern industrial Scotland, however, dates less from the Union than from the Industrial Revolution. Modern industries tend to concentration in particular localities, to great specialisation of skill, to the employment of vast capital; in a word, to the Factory System. Up till the middle of the eighteenth century, however, quite opposite conditions of production prevailed. Such an industry as the woollen manufacture round Leeds in England was carried on by small master-manufacturers, who lived not in the town but in the country, renting little pasture farms of three to fifteen acres, and thus combining agriculture with manufacture. Each man worked with his own hands, and nearly all the processes

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 5. (1910.)

of manufacture took place in his own house, whence when completed the cloth was carried to market on his own horse. "Until twenty years ago," Barrie writes of Thrums (Kirriemuir), in *Auld Licht Idylls*, "its every other room, earthen-floored and showing the rafters overhead, had a hand-loom, and hundreds of weavers lived and died Thoreaus 'ben the hoose' without knowing it." Three or four weaving looms were the most that anyone would own; eight or ten workpeople the most that anyone would employ. The market was a small one, for means of communication throughout the country were wretched, and there was thus no impetus towards invention and the improvement of the instruments of manufacture. In the woollen trade there were only four important inventions between the reign of Edward IV. and the appearance of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776). But if the market was small, it was also known. "Over-production was impossible when the producer lived next-door to the consumer."¹ Such was the Domestic System of manufacture in the days before the Industrial Revolution. It must be added, however, that the beginnings of a capitalist system were already evident in some parts of England when Arthur Young, the well-known writer on social economy and agriculture, published his descriptions of English industry (about 1770). At Sheffield was a silk mill employing 152 hands; at Darlington one master-manufacturer employed more than 50 looms. In the main, however, the Domestic System was still dominant.

¹ Arnold Toynbee, *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 195-7.

The first great triumphs of the Industrial Revolution were won in the cotton manufacture. A drawback in the previous condition of things was that Kay's invention of the flying-shuttle in 1733 had made it possible to weave cloth twice as broad as before, with the result that the output of spun yarn was quite inadequate to meet the weavers' demand. One weaver, in fact, could keep about six spinners at work, and an improvement in the process of spinning was urgently called for. This need was met by the two inventions of spinning by rollers, instead of by the spinning wheel (patented 1738), and the Spinning Jenny, invented by James Hargreaves in 1765. These two improvements put the supply of yarn ahead of the demand of the weavers. Then in 1769 Richard Arkwright patented a machine "for the making of weft or yarn from cotton flax or wool," which was to be turned at first by a horse, but later by water power. For this reason the machine was known as the Water Frame. The result of the two inventions of the Water Frame and the Spinning Jenny was that stuff finer in grain could be produced at a much less cost. Arkwright, too, improved and made a commercial success of a carding machine, for carding the wool before it could be roved and spun, which had been invented in 1748 by Lewis Paul; and Samuel Crompton in 1779 combined the rollers of the Water Frame and the movable carrier of the Spinning Jenny in the same machine, called Crompton's "Mule." These great discoveries fairly revolutionised the cotton industry in England. Mills were built on every stream

on the west of the Pennines as far south as Stockport—east of the Pennines the less heavy rainfall and drier climate gave insufficient water power—and the population engaged in the rapidly expanding cotton manufacture was grouped in villages in all these Pennine valleys. So far the actual weaving had not been much affected, save by a great increase in wages; and even when Cartwright invented the power-loom, the machine at first required manual power to work it. In 1769, however, James Watt took out a patent for the steam-engine; in 1785 a steam-engine of Watt's making was used to produce rotary motion in a cotton mill; and as results of its general adoption, the domestic industry of weaving was swept away, and instead of its being necessary to take the people engaged in the cotton manufacture to the water power, the power—steam—could now be brought to the people. The application of steam power to manufacture made possible a great expansion of industry and population, and the concentration of that population in the great manufacturing centres of to-day.

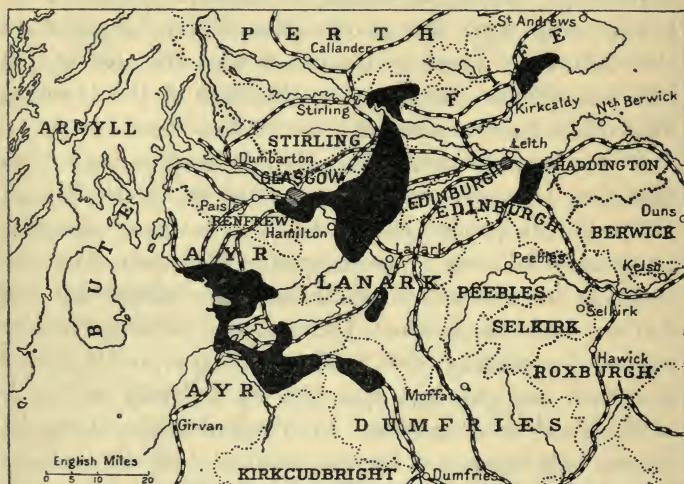
The first cotton mill in Scotland was built at Rothesay in 1779; Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, with the moister climate of the west, are the chief seat of the industry to-day. The woollen manufacture, however, was of old standing in Scotland. "Plaiding," that is, coarse woollen cloth, was one of the chief exports of Scottish manufacture, and at one time and another various attempts had been made to improve the quality of the stuff by encouraging the immigration of foreign cloth-workers,

though without any special results. Previous to the parliamentary union the woollen industry had been situated mainly at Edinburgh, Stirling, Aberdeen, Kilmarnock, and in the Carse of Gowrie and Strathmore between Stonehaven and Dundee. After 1707 it took hold also in the Tweed valley, where the pastures of the Southern Uplands supplied wool, and water was available for washing the wool, and later to drive the mills. In 1790 the first carding-machine in Scotland was erected at Galashiels, and in the same year mills began to be built there for the reception of the new machinery. Galashiels, Hawick, and Jedburgh are still the centres of the modern tweed manufacture, originally from the wool of the Cheviot sheep, supposed to be a cross between merino sheep saved from the wreck of the Armada and the native Cheviot breed, though now much of the wool comes from Australasia, and coal for power from Newcastle or the Forth. The wool of the blackface sheep of the Ayrshire uplands and Galloway, being long and rough and well adapted to be spun into carpet yarns, gave rise to the important carpet industry at Kilmarnock. The linen manufacture was introduced into Dundee early in the seventeenth century, doubtless partly owing to the fact that Dundee is one of the ports nearest to the Baltic. Baltic flax has long been used in the linen industries of Forfarshire and Fifeshire. At the time of the Union the annual output in Scotland was about 150,000 yds. The Union and the establishment in 1727 of the Board of Manufactures gave a considerable impetus, and in the year ending

October 31st, 1728, the amount of linen cloth stamped was 2,183,978 yds., valued at £103,312. Then came the Industrial Revolution. In Dundee the first power loom in this industry dates from 1836. By 1822 the annual amount stamped had increased to 36,268,530 yds., and the value to £1,396,296. Besides Forfar and Fife the counties of Perth, Aberdeen, Renfrew, Lanark, Midlothian, and Ayr, are at the present day engaged in this industry. Further, Dundee is also the seat of the jute manufacture, taken up at the time of the Crimean War when the Russian supplies of flax were cut off.

It was not, however, only in the textile industries that the Domestic System prevailed in Great Britain before the Industrial Revolution. It governed also the production of iron manufacture. The only fuel for smelting the ore was charcoal, and the bellows for the furnace could be worked by one man. Early in the eighteenth century the smelting of iron ore by coal had been brought into operation by a family of North of England iron masters, in Coalbrookdale, but the process only became a success when in 1760 the bellows were replaced by cylinders at the Carron ironworks near Falkirk. James Watt replaced the waterwheel by the steam engine; and in 1829 Neilson of Glasgow invented the hot-air blast, greatly reducing the consumption of coal required per ton of iron. But it was the introduction of railways about 1840 which gave the greatest impetus to the production of pig-iron. In Scotland in 1796, 18,640 tons were produced; in 1830, 37,500 tons. In 1840 the amount had risen to 241,000;

in 1845 to 475,000; and in 1865 to 1,164,000 tons.¹ It is a special advantage for British industry that iron and the coal which may be used to smelt it are so often found close together. More than one-third of the iron ore worked to-day in Scotland comes from mines which also produce coal. And it is further important that British



COAL-FIELDS OF SCOTLAND.

coal-fields are generally near seaports, thus making the transport of the coal very much less expensive. The Coal Measures are found in Scotland only in the Central Valley, where they have been preserved from denudation in three main basins. The Ayrshire coal-field is near the ports of Troon, Ayr, and Ardrossan. That in the

¹ *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. *Article, Scotland.*

Clyde basin has the great port of Glasgow; and certainly, important as the American trade proved to be, the great and rapid expansion of Glasgow, and the pre-eminence of the Clyde in ship-building, would never have been brought about, had it not been for the presence of this great coal-field. The Clyde coal-field is continued north-eastward into Linlithgowshire and under the Forth into Clackmannan. Close to the Linlithgowshire coal-field are the ports of Grangemouth and Bo'ness, while the outlet for the Clackmannan coal is through Alloa. Then further east, separated from the second basin by the Pentland Hills, is the Lothian coal-field, spreading beneath the Forth into Fife, a great and increasingly important centre of industry, which, with the oil shale of the Lothians, is restoring to some extent the old industrial importance of the east of the country. Connected with it are the Fife ports of Burntisland and Kirkcaldy, and the Midlothian port of Leith. The present distribution of population in Scotland¹ is chiefly to be explained by these coal-fields, though it should be noted that the Industrial Revolution did not cause a great transference of the centre of population, as in England from the Midlands to the North. The population of Scotland has always remained concentrated in the Central Valley.

The Industrial Revolution was accompanied by a great advance in agriculture. The way was prepared by two Acts of 1695 for the division of common lands, and the separation of intermixed properties. Early in the

¹ See population map for census of 1911, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, xxvii., p. 504.

eighteenth century (1723) was formed a "Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland," one member of which, John, 2nd earl of Stair, is said to have been the first to cultivate turnips in Scotland.¹ The progress in communications, too, by which this century was also signalised, encouraged the conveyance of agricultural produce to markets, and the extended use of lime as a manure. The abolition of hereditary jurisdictions (1746) after the Jacobite rebellion, and an Act of 1770 giving the landlords power to grant leases, with the spread of enclosures, drainage, and rotation of crops, made the country ready to benefit by the great rise in the price of wheat during the Great War. As a result there was an enormous advance in Scottish agriculture, and the rental of land rose from £2,000,000 in 1795 to £5,278,685 in 1815. The last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, saw the beginning of the importation of great quantities of foreign and colonial wheat, and this proved to be competition which British agriculture could not meet. A comparison of the census returns for the first years of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries shows that the increase in the population of Scotland during that period from rather over one and a half millions to nearly four and a half has taken place in the counties most affected by the Industrial Revolution. The increase per square mile in Lanark is 1357, in Midlothian 1001, in Renfrew 811, Linlithgow 416, Clackmannan 370, Dumbarton 346, Fife 252, Forfar 215, Stirling 206, and Ayr 151. Ten more counties

¹ *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. *Article*, Agriculture.

have an increase of between 100 and 20 per square mile; and eight, Dumfries, Caithness, Kirkcudbright, Nairn, Orkney and Shetland, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, and Berwick, an increase of less than 20. An actual decrease of population has taken place in Sutherland, Kinross, Argyll, and Perth.¹ Undoubtedly this feature of modern life, the concentration of population into great towns, is from many points of view a dangerous one. The Scotsman's wandering impulse, too, which from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century filled the armies and universities of Europe, and is for instance so marked both in the life and in the books of a writer so essentially Scots as Robert Louis Stevenson, has found revival in the first quarter of the twentieth century in the heavy drain of much of the best of Scotland's population to the colonies. This is another serious problem for those who care that Scotland should have a future as well as the Empire as a whole. One thing, however, is certain. It is quite contrary to the fixed intention characteristic of this type of Scotsman to "get on," to expect that he will be content to stay at home, either on the land or in the cities, if he has no chance to realise his ambition.

Reference has already been made to the eighteenth-century revolution in the means of communication, which was indeed a necessary condition of both the Industrial and agrarian revolutions. It is pre-eminently associated with the names of two Scotsmen, Macadam (1756-1836) and Telford (1757-1834), to whom the modern system

¹ See map, *Statesman's Year Book*, 1910.

of road - construction is really due. "Those who are born to modern travelling," wrote Lord Cockburn, "can scarcely be made to understand how the previous age got on. The state of the roads may be judged of from two or three facts. There was no bridge over the Tay at Dunkeld, or over the Spey at Fochabers, or over the Findhorn at Forres. Nothing but wretched pierless ferries, let to poor cottars, who rowed, or hauled, or pushed a crazy boat across, or more commonly got their wives to do it. There was no mail-coach north of Aberdeen till, I think, after the battle of Waterloo."¹ The first Turnpike Act in Scotland was passed in 1750, and from that date progress was steadily made. Water communication, too, was developed. The first canal in Scotland was begun in 1761, from Glasgow through Coatbridge to Woodhall in the parish of Old Monkland, and opened for traffic in 1792. The Forth and Clyde canal from Bowling to Grangemouth was opened in 1790; the Union canal in 1822. But the greatest revolution in the means of transport and communication came with the introduction of railways, of which the first built under an Act of Parliament, a line from Kilmarnock to Troon, was completed in 1810. The east coast route connecting Scotland with England was opened in 1846, the Carstairs-Carlisle route in 1848.

For long after the Union had brought to an end the political and commercial independence of Scotland, there had persisted and flourished a distinct social life which had a brilliant literary and intellectual centre in the

¹ Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of his Time*, pp. 323-4 (1909).

Scottish capital. It was declining when Lord Cockburn wrote his Autobiography between 1821 and 1830, and the Reform Bill, bringing its larger conception of politics, struck it a heavy blow, but it was the railways that killed it. In Arthur Young's time it took a week or more for a coach to go from London to Edinburgh. The Edinburgh Directory of 1782 gives four and a half days in winter as the length of the journey. Edinburgh, in fact, was for practical purposes as far away from London then as the eastern states of Canada are nowadays; and under these conditions there was possible an independent existence which at eight hours' distance has become simply incredible.

All, however, did not end with the coming of the railways, the telegraph, and a cheap daily Press. The national character which shaped history and was shaped by it as it developed for more than fourteen centuries was no Jonah's gourd, to wither in a day. Scotland remains, as Stevenson put it, "far more essentially different from England than many parts of America"; and Scottish nationality is as much as ever the source of the best work done by Scotsmen all over the earth.

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